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A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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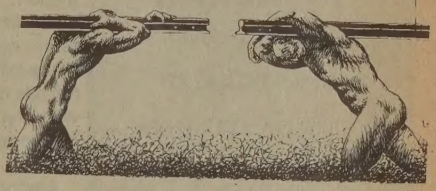

A democratic party must be formed

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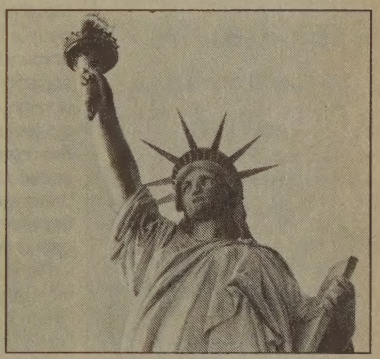

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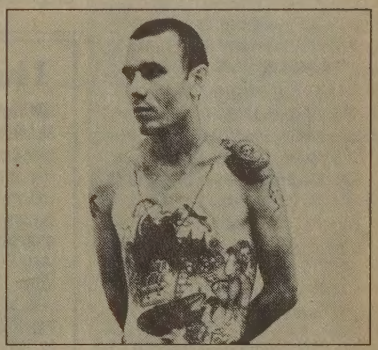

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From our mailbag

■ The news programme *Vremya,* and then several newspapers featured a report about the meeting of the KGB chairman, Vladimir Kryuchkov, with the society Memorial. This information, which has, evidently, been disseminated by the KGB press-service, is at odds with the reality. The society Memorial has not asked for a meeting with Kryuchkov and has not received an invitation for such a meeting.

Among those who took part in the meeting were representatives of the Moscow City Council commission for the affairs of people subjected to repression and of the commission for the burial places, the association of people who have suffered from unfounded repression, the association of the victims of repression, the old party members subjected to repression, and the organization "Children subjected to repression." Many of these people are members of the Memorial, but none of them spoke on behalf of the society.

On more than one occasion we stated that the only form of "intercourse" with the KGB could be represented by our inquiries about the fate of concrete people. We regard as absolutely unacceptable the proposal about the KGB participation in the erection of memorials at the sites of the mass burial places of victims of the KGB.

We don't think that the KGB has undergone "perestroika." One can see an indication that the KGB has not changed in the recent statements by the KGB officials (newspaper *Pravda* of June 10, 1991) to the effect that the dissidents of the 1960s–1980s have been sentenced in accordance with the law. In spite of numerous demands, the KGB archives, including those that are 50 to 70 years old, remain closed. The law on the KGB that has been recently worked out by the KGB itself shows that the nature of that agency has not changed. The KGB continues to be practically outside any control.

We think that the KGB in its present form must be disbanded, and several services (counter-intelligence, anti-terrorist etc) accountable to democratic institutions should be created in its place.

The working board, Moscow Memorial, USSR

■ I thank Yuri Starostenko for his article *Museum on Mount Myohyang* (No.22/91). It is one of the few (if not the first) articles in the last 12 to 18 months that in a quiet and objective manner describes the life in North Korea.

Our press has excelled in the fussy running down of our former friends and allies, including North Korea. I have been corresponding with my North Korean friends for 8 years now. I also read opuses about that country in our publications. All the materials have one thing in common – a malicious inability to understand the North Koreans because of the ignorance of their culture and way of life. And other people's ideas are as bad as everything else. But I feel admiration for the Labour Party of Korea and its leader Kim Il Sung. True, they have difficulties. But one should not focus the attention on the fact that on one occasion the opponents of the North Korean regime were publicly executed at the stadium by a firing squad. We did not see it first-hand, and if it did happen, then in this country people have been hanged and shot for centuries on end. Be that as it may, but it would have been much worse if there were no North Korea in the East. And it is not by chance that people from all over the world are sending Kim Il Sung presents,

I have been trying to return to my native land for 50 years

■ The responses from the readers to the article by Leonid Mlechin *Vlasov and the Vlasovites* have made me remember the years of the war...

I am the grandson of the artillery General E.Yesaulov (on my father's side) and of the chamberlain of Prince Evgeny Obolensky (on my mother's side). One of my grandmothers is the granddaughter of the Decembrist Iosif Podzhio and another is the sister of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Freedom) member, Mikhail Trigoni. I was born in St.Petersburg in 1912. In 1920 I emigrated together with my parents first to Yugoslavia and then to Italy.

My parents have been waiting for a speedy fall of the Soviet power and an opportunity to return to Russia. As my mother and father saw it at that time, Russia was under the thumb of Jews who were killing, robbing and humiliating the Russian people. With the passage of years, the hope for a return has been waning. My mother became religious, and my father took a shot at starting his own business, but failed. They have been awaiting a miracle that would make it possible for them to return.

I grew up in a Russian, although an anti-Soviet environment. I had one dream – to serve Russia and to take part in its liberation from the Bolsheviks. Fascist Italy was hostile to the Bolsheviks – and that was enough for us. When the Spanish civil war began the newspapers wrote that it was the war against communism. And I with my youthful light-mindedness saw in it an opportunity to fight against the Soviet power. In 1937 I came to Spain and was received by General Franco's brother. I spoke on the radio with an appeal to the soldiers of the Red Army to overthrow Stalin and liberate our native land. Then I joined the foreign legion and went to the front. In the 1940s I regretted my Spanish venture, but at that time it was a naive manifestation of my love for Russia.

Then I returned to Italy, was drafted into the army and sent to Libya. When Italy entered the war, I was captured by the British and found myself in a prison camp in India. The conditions in the camp were excellent and the British treated me in an affable way.

I learned the news about the attack of Germany and Italy on the Soviet Union almost at once. I had a very heavy feel-

Kim Il Sung has his people in Murmansk

Not revolutionaries, but common criminals

Memorial society is no friend of the KGB

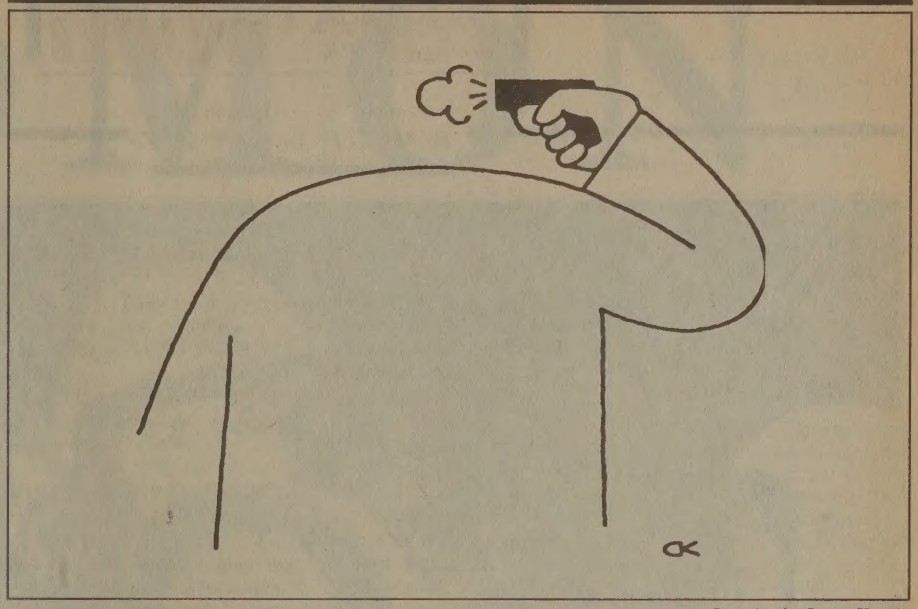
as Yuri Starostenko writes in his article. Why are they sending these presents? Our scribblers don't even try to ponder over this question. They don't have electricity in Myohyangsan. But this is simply their way of life!

We scoff at the way they live in Korea. And yesterday I was issued a coupon for 600 gramms of sausage that I have to stretch for the whole month! People in Murmansk are getting only 500 gramms of macaroni for three months! That is 5 gramms per day. Didn't it occur to anyone that in the past our life was not that poor? And there was also plenty of red colour everywhere. Now they proposed to us northerners to plant our own potatoes so that we could "survive during winter." Do you think they will grow in our climate?

Let us leave North Korea alone. Let them live the way they like. Let us not thrust ourselves upon people with our commentaries, for we have already made fools of ourselves everywhere.

Sergei Shustrov
Severomorsk, USSR

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Sergei Kuprin

■ Issue No.10 featured an interview of Elena Gorovaya with the Cuban Minister of foreign Affairs, Raul Roa Couri, and the magazine *New World* – an article by A. Avtorkhanov titled *Lenin in the destinies of Russia*. These two publications have made me take up the pen and cry out: "Help!" I am not going to retell what they are about because it will be a long, tragic and sad story. I want to know where the truth is. Who is to blame concretely? Is it the communist doctrine? Is it the theory or those who put their hands to these ideas?

Avtorkhanov ends his article with a sentence to Lenin: he "invented ... the totalitarian mechanism of state power with the help of which his successors have perpetuated the physical and spiritual terror and for almost a century have excluded Russia from the family of civilized states." Raul Roa Couri defends the revolution that is based precisely on what Avtorkhanov wrote about in his article. It turns out that with our help Cuba will continue to carry out a merciless struggle against the enemies of socialism and revolution.

So, who is to blame? Maybe it is time to admit that it is not Lenin and Stalin who are to blame, but the theory itself, the idea *per se*, because it has been and continues to be a Utopia. Or after all, is it the concrete persons who are to blame, and the communist teaching is scientific? Maybe those who implemented it have misinterpreted it completely? They have misinterpreted it because it was profitable for them to dupe people, to spoil souls and to ruin lives. In that case they are not revolutionaries, but common criminals. For if I put forward an idea about how to rob the editorial office of *New Times*, ideologically inspire the burglars, but wil not take part in the operation personally, I shall all the same be put behind bars, and it will serve me right.

I am a communist like Raul Roa Couri. But we are so different. I don't want to seek out enemies. We may not hold the same views, but we should not be enemies. According to the minister, in Cuba they take to court or tribunal only those who break state laws. That is, I would add, those who think differently. We have already had all that on more than one occasion, and it has been a very bloody experience, too.

Ivan Belgovsky
Verkhnedneprovsk, USSR

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

ing: it is one thing to take part in the civil war, and quite another to be in the hostile army. And then I realized with full force that the Soviet Union that I hated only yesterday is my Russia, my native land. Kutuzov, Stalin, Russia, the Soviet Union – all this is mine, is Russian, and is my blood. I must be over there, and not here among the Italians. I even saw in my dream Stalin in Kutuzov's full-dress uniform as he was riding a horse on the battle field. I managed to get an audience with a British general and told him that I wanted to give up my Italian citizenship and be turned over to Soviet authorities. I was told that it would take some time, and, besides, it did not befit a white Russian to ask to be sent to Soviet Russia. I waited for a long time, but then, having lost all hope, attempted two times to escape from the camp. On both occasions I was recaptured and put into prison.

I sent a registered letter to Stalin asking him to permit me to return to my native land. They sent me from the Kremlin a notification about the receipt of my letter, but no answer was forthcoming.

I managed to return to my native country only in 1958. When Khrushchev visited India where I lived at that time, I wrote him a letter. My mother, my son and I (my wife did not want to go) came to the state farm Komsomolsky in Orenburg Region. "You did the right thing to come back. It is better to be a pauper in your native country than a millionaire in a strange land." But, unfortunately, due to family reasons I had to return to India: my wife demanded that I should return her the son, and I did not want to lose him.

What I saw in the Soviet Union was wonderful. I liked hospitals, schools, the state farm and the worker's town. My wife and mother have died. Having remained alone, I have submitted several applications about repatriation, but have drawn a blank. They say that nowadays, in the times of perestroika, it is easier to return to the native land. But the problem is that I don't know on what means to live in Russia: I receive my pension in a non-convertible currency – rupees. But I would like very much to die in my native land. Since June 1941 the notions "Russian" and "Soviet" became of a piece for me.

Alexander Yesaulov
Delhi, India

EMERGENCY

Photo by Dmitry Borko

OMON

They give their own orders, and when their superiors reprimand them, they think the superiors are just being hypocritical. They must serve the state, but they are serving the minority party. OMON troops have become highly dangerous – a formidable force that has gone out of control

Gennady Ariyevich

Nothing reminds one today of the dramatic events that occurred on June 26 in Savanoriu Avenue, Vilnius, where the city telephone exchange is situated. That day an OMON squad armed with assault rifles broke into the building and suspended its operation, using President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree on the disbanding of all unlawfully formed armed groups as grounds for such a break-in. Having lined up all the telephone operators, mostly women, against the wall, the OMON soldiers started to search the premises and soon found... Arms?

"They appeared at about four thirty," said Luzaite, deputy director of the Vilnius telephone exchange. "They said they had information about weapons hidden, somewhere on the premises. They headed straight to one of the ventilation shafts and produced a small bundle, saying it was what they were after. I cannot say whether they did really find that bundle, if they had brought it with them."

The contents of that mysterious bundle have never been revealed to the eagerly waiting Lithuanian journalists. According to Yeremenko, the leader of the OMON group, the bundle contained explosives, ammunition, and a pistol. Officers of the Lithuanian Defence Department insisted there was nothing in there but some pieces of rope and an old disassembled and rusty pistol. The information furnished by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU) was very specific: 200 metres of Bickford fuse, 100 various munitions – including big-caliber ones, and a lot of 100-gramme and 200-gramme TNT charges. Quite a capacious bundle this must have been... "There were enough explosives to blow away half of Vilnius," said Col. Starodub, whom I met at the Central Committee. When he heard this, Deputy Director of the Lithuanian Defence Department Algimantas Vaitkaitis waived his hands at me: "We haven't got that much in all of Lithuania! We don't even have enough explosives to blow up the war-time land mines which we occassionally find, so we have to destroy those mines by burning them."

"There has been such a hue and cry about the 'takeover' of the telephone exchange!" said Gen. Algimantas Naudziunas, a secretary of the CPL Central Committee. "We should all be grateful to OMON. It is the only force keeping order here. Having received a tip from people who knew about a cache of machine guns, assault rifles, other weapons, the OMON raided the telephone exchange, thus preventing a serious provocation, or great bloodshed, probably. And, by the way, the OMON acted on the procurator's warrant. (It must be noted that today Lithuania has two Procurator's Offices: the republican Procurator's Office and the federal one controlled from Moscow). We have been receiving a lot of letters and telegrammes expressing indignation with the way the June 26 events are being distorted in the press and in some public utterances."

"The OMON Commander has been recently called to Moscow for a tongue-lashing: they say he has been reprimanded for unsanctioned activities..."

"The Interior Ministry did initially call them in for a tongue-lashing session, but after the OMON troopers explained the situation to the ministry people, the tone of the conversation changed...

"But there has been an official statement..."

"They are just saving face. The Union Interior Ministry does not know the local situation: crime, hooliganism, explosions, anti-Soviet demonstrations, anti-army, anti-Russian sentiments... I would not recommend that you go out in the evening – if you dare speak Russian, anything could happen. The situation is extremely tense.

The Russians, the Soviet power saved Lithuania from Nazis, helped Lithuania, taught the local people, gave them everything. And now the child-nation of Lithuania is spitting in the face of the parent-state – the Soviet Union. Those who saved Lithuania are called occupiers. The Communist Party of Lithuania is outlawed as "a party of a foreign country," but the CPL has more members than all the 12 Lithuanian parties combined, despite the recent heavy membership losses. No serious problem in this republic can be solved without CPL participation. We are receiving letters in which people demand that we assume power and blame us for not having gone to the end in January. Otherwise, a catastrophe will be imminent. And the Moscow leadership is keeping silent, saying nothing and doing nothing. The leadership of Russia is even fomenting fascism and nationalism. President Bush would long ago have punished Lithuania for disobedience, as he punished Panama's Noriega for the outrage he committed, and as he punished Saddam Hussein..."

"The events in Lithuania, said Victor Bavykin, assistant to the First Secretary of the CPL Central Committee, "occur a year or a year and a half ahead of the same events in Russia. Russia will travel along the same road later. Yeltsin is the Russian edition of Landsbergis.

"Russia does not know much and does not see much," Col. Starodub concluded bitterly, "But it will know and it will see when the call "Our people are in danger" reverberates. And then the whole world will shudder..."

"Are you in favor of being tough, for the use of armed force?"

"We are in favor of being tough, but not the use of armed force," Gen. Naudziunas resolutely denied the seemingly logical conclusion from all that had been said. "After the January events your magazine distorted my words, presenting my anti-crisis plan as a

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE INTERIOR MINISTRY

"We have succeeded in forming professional troops"

Eduard Ryazanov,
First Deputy Chief of the Main Public Order Directorate of the Interior Ministry of the USSR

The special-purpose police force (the Russian abbreviation OMON) was established in response to the difficult situation that took shape at the end of 1988: rapid growth in the number of grave crimes, hostage-taking, which we had not dealt with before, criminal terrorism... The number of demonstrations, street rallies accompanied by crimes, and various disasters in industry and transport grew unprecedentedly.

Today we can say that we have succeeded in forming a really professional force. Before, during the arrests of specially dangerous criminals many police officers were hurt, as were the criminals themselves, and the number of fatal cases was also very large. Now our losses are considerably reduced, thanks to the careful selection of people for the OMON units. We are interested in the applicants' physical, psychological, and special training, rather than in the number of applicants. By the way, the number of people wishing to join the special police force has been growing: we are getting a lot of letters from Soviet Army servicemen.

The OMON units of Riga and Vilnius have been attracting too much attention, sometimes unnecessary attention. Now we are starting to cooperate directly with those units: from April this year they are under our directorate's command as well as under the command of the Interior Troops. However, I am against the system of double subordination. But I am sure we will find ways to cooperate with the Commander of the Interior Troops with no serious problems.

Unexpectedly even for themselves, the officers and enlisted men of the OMON units found themselves in the focus of the political struggle and refused to obey the orders of the new authorities declaring their loyalty to the Constitutions of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR, and Latvian SSR. In their turn, the local authorities refused to recognize the OMON units as legal. However, significant segments of the population in those republics regard the OMON as protectors of their interests. Every day we get a lot of letters, telegrams, and addresses from people who voice their support for the OMON units. I do not think we have the right to ignore their opinion. The boys from the OMON believe they are true protectors of the Russian-speaking communities of Latvia and Lithuania. In general, I believe it would be a great mistake to disband the OMON.

Recently the commanding officers of the Vilnius OMON have been summoned to the Interior Ministry of the USSR to report on their activities at the Vilnius telephone exchange. The Chief of the Main Public Order Directorate, General Kalachev, warned the commander of the OMON unit, B.Makutinovich, the chief of staff, V.Razvodov, and the deputy commander, I.Yeremenko, that in case of any further unsanctioned actions which might discredit

programme for the national salvation of Lithuania. Negotiations must be started immediately, but both sides keep on putting off the beginning of such negotiations. The sides are engaged in a tug-of-war. But we can not just calmly watch everything that is going on in Lithuania. We need sanctions. Political sanctions – decisions by the Soviet parliament. Economic sanctions – it is necessary to stop feeding the local good-for-nothings at the expense of the hard-working Russians, to halt the 100 percent supplies of raw materials and other things of which we ourselves do not have enough.

"You have just said that the laws, decrees, and other acts are impotent..."

"Laws must work. One lawyer I know has recently said that Landsbergis, Yeltsin, and Gorbachev were actually one gang. One woman called us up, saying: "Tell Yazov to take matters into his own hands. The army is the only force that can save us from banditry, alcoholism, and economic mismanagement. This is the opinion of common people".

"Does this mean that today OMON is the only force protecting socialist law and order?"

The question was left unanswered, but the gesture was eloquent enough.

Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to visit the OMON headquarters and main housed in the Police Academy building. The building had been taken over by the OMON and has never been attacked by anyone despite the grim predictions of the Leningrad TV reporter Alexander Nevzorov, who provides regular sympathetic coverage to OMON actions.

People at the CPL Central Committee easily promised to arrange a meeting for me with the commander of the OMON unit, Boleslav Makutinovich, but it was impossible to locate the legendary "captain of the musketeers," who has recently been promoted to the rank of major (Evidently, while Moscow punishes its servants with one hand, it rewards them with the other)...

The vice-premier of Lithuania, Vaisvila, ordered that the OMON base be cut off from the telephone lines and power supply. One of the versions says that the OMON troopers attacked the telephone exchange in order to avenge the government's action against them. The OMON base was cut off because the Lithuanian government could no longer tolerate what the troopers did intoxicated by a sense of impunity. The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania declared the Vilnius OMON unit, which broke away from the republican OMON and placed itself under the command of the Interior Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, "a gang of outlaws." The Procurator's Office of the Lithuanian Republic is investigating the alleged involvement of some OMON troopers in a number of crimes.

At any rate, the list of the Vilnius OMON's exploits looks really impressive.

... On the evening of March 10 OMON troopers stopped a van in which a Defence Department officer was carrying some furniture. The van was stopped in the vicinity of the OMON base, the driver was arrested, but later managed to escape...

... On March 11 The Vilnius OMON troopers apprehended, interrogated, and disarmed four of their former colleagues from the Lithuanian OMON.

... Two policemen were apprehended and disarmed.

... On March 17, OMON troopers apprehended a member of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, Director-General of the Lithuanian Defence Department Andrius Butkievicius. He was searched and he and his driver were disarmed.

... A series of "professional" explosions was carried out on the eve of the March 17 referendum outside a number of buildings in Vilnius. No one was hurt, but there was a lot of noise. In the Ukmerge district the local police arrested three people who had planted a bomb at a bus stop. Two of them belonged to the OMON.

... On March 21 an OMON jeep chased a Lithuanian customs car which the OMON believed carried some weapons. The OMON troopers opened fire on the car at the very centre of Vilnius, blasted the car's tyres, beat up

seems that the support of Lithuania's Russian-speaking opulation is more important for B. Makutinovich than the ecisions of the legitimate authorities of the republic.
Photo by P.Malukas

he Interior Ministry, they would be held ersonally responsible. By the way, Makutinovich had been promoted in rank several months earlier. It was a regular promotion and had nothing to do with the "takeover" of the Vilnius telephone exchange.

We have set up a special group which will oordinate the actions of the OMON units. This group will be based in Riga, Latvia.

NT INFORMATION

The predecessor of the OMON – special-purpose police – first appeared in November 1987. It first attracted public attention during the "hot" August of 1988 after it was deployed to crush an unsanctioned meeting of the radical Democratic Union on Moscow's Pushkin Square. Rumour had it that three policemen were harmed during the operation. Later the same unit was once again deployed on Pushkin Square and the adjacent Tverskoy Boulevard to disperse demonstrations of Crimean Tatars.

On October 3, 1988 Interior Minister Vlasov signed the order on creation of the OMON. According to the information supplied by the Interior Ministry, the Vlasov order remains the only document regulating the activities of the OMON units. The order specifies three main tasks of the OMON:

– enforcement of public order during socio-political, sports, cultural, and other gatherings, natural calamities, epidemics, large-scale industrial disasters, and other emergencies;

– prevention of massive unrest and disturbances;

– arrest of armed and dangerous criminals.

At the same time, the OMON units obey all other orders regulating the activities of other Interior Ministry divisions.

According to the ministerial order the OMON is an element of the local territorial bodies of power – city and regional directorates of internal affairs. The Moscow OMON force is under the command of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs under the Moscow City Executive Committee. (However, the status of the directorate has not yet been specified and it remains unclear whether it is subordinate to the Interior Ministry of the USSR or the Moscow City Executive Committee.) The OMON units of Riga and Vilnius are also under double subordination: they are simultaneously controlled by the Main Public Order Directorate of the Interior Ministry of the USSR and the Main Directorate of the Commander of the Internal Troops of the USSR, Col-Gen. Shatalin.

The OMON troops are manned with policemen who have served more than one year. The average age of the OMON enlisted men and NCOs does not exceed 30 years, and that of the officers does not exceed 40 years.

The Interior Ministry officials insist party affiliations do not in any way influence one's career in the OMON or in regular police units.

The OMON trooper does not earn much more than the average policeman: the monthly pay during the first year of service is 240 to 270 rubles and increases with seniority. The maximum pay of 500 rubles can be attained only after the trooper has served twenty years. Some republics are paying more. The Interior Ministry says that setting the pay rates is up to the republican authorities.

All in all there are 34 OMON units in this country with an overall strength of about 10,000 men.

Compiled by T.Lekhto

the customs officers, but did not find any weapons.

... On May 22 a group of uniformed people broke into the customs station at the Vilnius Airport, they dispersed the customs officers and took away all the documents. Boleslav Makutinovich commanded the operation himself.

... The OMON burned 22 customs posts on the Lithuanian border with other republics. The existence of such posts violates Soviet law, but this is no justification for the blood and humiliation which accompanied the OMON raids against the customs posts.

From the very beginning the OMON have not denied their involvement in the ransacking of customs posts, they even bragged about it, saying they raided the posts in order to "protect the socialist laws." As if he did not notice all this, Interior Minister Pugo maintained that there was no evidence confirming the OMON involvement in the raids. Ironically, Pugo's words were refuted by Alexander Nevzorov who participated in one such raid together with the Riga OMON and later broadcast his report about it.

Nikolay Trubin, the Procurator-General of the USSR, considered the attacks against the customs posts illegal and initiated criminal proceedings. Then a surprising metamorphosis occurred: it turned out that Interior Minister Pugo had been informed of everything from the very start: but the evidence incriminating the OMON was still missing. What about Nevzorov's report? But anyone could buy camouflage fatigues to impersonate OMON troopers in order to discredit them...

When interviewed by American correspondents, Boleslav Makutinovich said that the objective of his unit was to fight organized crime, enforce public order, protect Soviet property in Lithuania, and stem activities of opposition forces. He also said that the OMON enjoyed the support of about one million of Lithuania's three and a half million people. He insisted that the number of the OMON supporters would have been greater had it not been for the campaign of slander unleashed by the press. "We are not going to overthrow the current dictatorial regime in Lithuania," Makutinovich said, "It will fall without our help." He explained that the OMON received money and supplies from the locally deployed division of Interior Troops. Sometimes, he admitted, the OMON did act on their own accord ... but always in the framework of the law.

The OMON's actions taken "on their own accord" raise more and more questions as they continue to damage not only Moscow's relations with the Baltics, but also the entire political course of the Soviet leadership. Many times, the OMON actions were carried out in the most inopportune moments for Moscow. The latest action took place on the eve of Gorbachev's visit to London. Any time is inopportune, I was told at the CPL Central Committee. We have studied the schedule of the president's international contacts, international conferences, etc. The schedule is worked out in such a clever way that it leaves no loophole for those who must act...

The fact that Moscow is not always informed about the developments received a peculiar explanation at the CPL Central Committee: one does not disclose the time and details of a military operation in advance. The OMON had very special rules corresponding to its special tasks. Sometimes, the OMON would report to their superiors, but very often the reports disappeared somewhere along the chain of command. When this does not happen and the report reaches its destination, it may be even worse: the information leaks to the enemy and the carefully planned operation is frustrated.

Is the OMON so reluctant to inform Moscow about its operations, because the information may be leaked to the enemy? This provides some serious food for thought about whom the OMON and the CPL Central Committee regard as enemies.

VILNIUS–MOSCOW

Time to dissolve the OMON

In a society that has embarked on the path of the democratic reform, there exist officially organized structures whose activity contradicts the interests of that society.

The OMON has already made itself known by its involvement in the outrage in Riga and Vilnius, repressions against the civilian population of Nagorny Karabakh, deportations of Armenians from the Azerbaijani villages on the border with Armenia, "passport checking" operations carried out in cooperation with the regular army in Stepanakert, and virtual establishment of military dictatorship in that city. The "least significant" operation of the special-purpose police is the March 28 show of military muscle in Moscow when bloodshed was prevented thanks only to the orderly and calm manner in which the demonstrators behaved.

The activities of these armed units are regulated by only one service instruction: the order of the former Interior Minister Vlasov on the creation of OMON units. One service instruction issued by an official who long ago resigned!

In the three years that have passed since then, the country has had enough chances to see what an ill-considered order can lead to. It has become evident that the OMON does not only enforce public order, but very often disrupts it. It is clear that "group unrest" and "massive disturbances" must be settled in a political way, not by the use of force. This, by the way, has been recently stressed by Interior Minister Pugo at a secret sitting of the Supreme Soviet. The OMON has not lived up to its objectives, and, as is illustrated by the actions of the Vilnius unit, has distanced itself from them.

Even the critics of the OMON regard it as something taken for granted. However, it is enough to cancel just one service instruction to abolish the OMON which is increasingly becoming a nuisance. The Interior Ministry does not seem to agree, but the existence of the OMON has ceased to be a purely departmental matter. The Constitution Committee must analyze to what extent the service instruction corresponds to the Constitution of the USSR and other legislative acts adopted by the supreme legislative power of the country to provide for the inviolability of human rights. Having analyzed that, the Constitution Committee will have to ask the Interior Minister for explanations and call on the Supreme Soviet to pass a verdict on what is going on.

One issue has been attracting special attention lately: are the OMON troopers responsible for everything they have done, or are those who gave orders to blame? Trying to justify the actions of the Vilnius OMON unit, some people insist that the troopers are too young, too frightened, too indoctrinated by the ideological stereotypes, and too confused by the contradictory orders from the centre. A campaign to collect signatures in support of the Vilnius OMON has begun in Lithuania. The organizers of the campaign want to protect the OMON from the centre's efforts "to discredit and neutralize the unit which has stayed loyal to its pledge of allegiance and military duty." Such speculations only demonstrate again that the existing OMON structures fit in neither with the social processes under way in the country nor with the system of bodies of power. In the current state of affairs the laws by which the OMON must abide can be replaced with ideologically-coloured time-serving considerations, and the OMON units set up to enforce law and order may start to be exploited by certain political parties and groups which are not always ruling ones. In this situation, the OMON, a well-trained punitive force, is becoming increasingly dangerous.

What is to be done? The way out seems to be the complete disbandment of the OMON. I am ready to agree that such well-trained and well-equipped units are really necessary within the police force to fight organized crime, numerous Mafia clans, etc. Special police units could be set up to replace the OMON. Their only task must be to arrest armed criminals on the procurator's warrant. Anything relating to politics must be outside police prerogatives. The new special police units must be really controlled by the local bodies of power – as it was initially planned for the OMON.

Drawing by V. Shilov

Police units which are intended to operate in the areas of ethnic conflicts must be controlled directly by the central bodies of power and the president. The formation of such units has been suggested alongside with the formation of a special team of investigators representing the USSR Procurator's Office. In any case, the direct central control would rule out the possibility of committing outrage with impunity as the OMON troops are now doing in Vilnius and Azerbaijan.

Irina Lagunina

● A DIFFERENT OPINION

Oleg Shenin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

Remembering ethics...

New Times No.26, this year, allocates much space to articles by Pumpyansky and Shakina. The Editor-in-Chief evidently decided that the President of this country, Mikhail Gorbachev, could not do without his advice on appointing and dismissing members of the National Security Council. Pumpyansky argued to what extent various NSC members were good at their jobs and confided his thoughts to the nation and the world via the magazine he heads. Shakina, a member of the *New Times* Editorial Board, also deemed it necessary to give advice to the President as to how the President should treat the Supreme Soviet, its Chairman, the Prime Minister and members of the Soviet government, showing extreme disrespect for individual statesmen and the constitutional body of power as a whole.

While I have not the slightest intention of questioning the rights of journalists and the media to express their own opinions about domestic and foreign policies, as well as activity of statesmen and political leaders, I believe that the said publications not only trespass on the limits of journalistic ethics, but also damage the prestige of the head of state, state bodies of power, and their leaders.

***Pravda*, July 4**

Each citizen of Russia will soon become a shareholder

but many will get rid of their stock at the earliest opportunity

Mikhail Maley, a chemist by education, former director of a research institute, former CPSU member; people's deputy of Russia, shares the platform of Demokraticheskaya Rossiya.

Now responsible for the privatization programme, Mikhail Maley is not afraid to share the fate of his colleagues at the Council of Ministers of Russia, who had also started great undertakings, but later had to quit. "Gennady Filshin was too lazy to check with whom he was doing business. This is no way to work. At the Council of Ministers sitting I was the first to demand Filshin's resignation, or our collective resignation... Grigory Yavlinsky had to go because he is a theoretician, not a practical economist."

Mikhail Maley says his position at the Russian parliament has always been firm: "My briefcase alone is farther to the left than I am." However, his impression of privatization pays a great deal of homage to the ideas of economic self-government.

Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Republic, Mikhail MALEY, speaks about the Russian Privatization Programme

New Times. Members of parliament in the Kremlin and at Krasnaya Presnya (the Russian parliament building) are debating the principles of the privatization that is going to begin in Russia soon. What are the major differences?

Mikhail Maley. The main difference between the Union parliament and the parliament of Russia is the vision of what privatization is and who will participate in it. Privatization is the transfer of the people's, or state-run, property to private owners. Why is it necessary? Only because the state has proved to be a poor manager? Experts of the Group of Seven, for example, believe that privatization is the only way to struggle against future supermonopolists. Grigory Yavlinsky believes privatization is needed to cure the monetary system. People will invest their money in shares and stocks and the consumer market will stabilize.

N.T. Do you disagree with Yavlinsky?

M.M. Of course, I do. the Byelorussian government has made a gross error: following the recommendations of Shatalin and Yavlinsky they raised two billion rubles and then burned the money, thinking this would help to weaken the pressure of "hot money" on the consumer market. But they forgot about one factor – Premier Pavlov. During the first three months he had a 39-billion-ruble deficit on his hands, and he printed as much money as he needed. By burning money the Byelorussians simply destroyed two billion rubles' worth of property. Let's suppose the government of Russia starts privatizing Russia's property, transferring it to affluent people and enterprises. By doing this we could freeze about 80 billion "hot" rubles. So what? Pavlov would print as much in half a year. As a result, inflation would skyrocket, but the republic would have lost its property. The greatest danger is not selling Russia to foreign business, but selling it to the Pavlov government.

N.T. How do you think privatization should proceed?

M.M. Our main principle is as follows: privatization is the only way to create labour incentives. Nobody is working now. Nobody wants to build communism now. To strengthen the Soviet power? To restore Great Russia? Not very many people are willing to work for this either. Only one real incentive remains: to let people work for themselves. This applies first and foremost to work collectives. There are 32 million pensioners in Russia and 33 million people under the age of 18. Only 40 out of the remaining 85 million are engaged in material production. The survival of Russia depends on whether this nucleus starts working, whether it strikes, or whether it continues to come to work and do nothing. The enterprises must be transferred to these people, to these work collectives, so that they can feel like masters, so that they can work for themselves.

N.T. Free of charge?

M.M. All enterprises must be converted to joint-stock companies. 30 percent of the stock must go to the work collective free of charge. The rest must be sold at thirty percent discount rate. This is the main point of privatization.

N.T. People want to invest in something solid, in immovables, and you deny this opportunity to them. Why?

M.M. People don't have enough money to buy a factory!

N.T. Not necessarily a factory. People could buy shops, small ventures.

M.M. Naturally, we will sell kiosks or public lavatories, but we will not sell an enterprise. Factories, plants, farms must belong to the work collectives. Speaking about work collectives we also

A factory? A steamship line? A mine? Sold!

mean all pensioners who have ever worked at the enterprise in question. Thus at least 15 million pensioners will be involved in the privatization process. It will be good help for aged people, who are the first to suffer from inflation, to receive dividends on their stock.

N.T. Financiers complain, however, that there is too much "hot" money in this country and argue that people would only be happy to invest the "hot" money in business.

M.M. After the April price hike Russia has grown poorer. According to the most optimistic assessment, people had 400 billion rubles in private possession. Experts agree that Soviet people will not give more than ten percent of their savings to the government's new risky ventures. This makes a figure of 40 billion rubles. Let us double the figure and we will have 80 billion...

N.T. And how much do you need?

M.M. To produce the first positive shifts in Britain's moribund economy, Margaret Thatcher had to privatize ten percent of government property. Let us apply this figure to Russia. The republic owns 1,200 billion rubles' worth of property. Ten percent makes 120 billion. And we will never be able to raise more than 80 billion. We are unable to reach the minimal level which helped Thatcher catalyze the economy in relatively stable Britain. But we have not one, but many crises and we need a stronger economic shock to start the idle mechanism again. We must privatize 20 percent of state property.

N.T. You are not going to give everything free of charge. People will have to buy something. And you say people do not have the money.

M.M. That is why the government of Russia will provide all people living in the republic – from babies to elderly people – with inscribed cheques which will be used exclusively for people's participation in the transfer of state property. The value of one cheque was defined in the following simple way: we divided the 1,200 billion worth of republican property by the 150 million people living in the republic. The result is 8,000 rubles per person. We took away one thousand rubles out of the 8,000 – these cheques will be used to buy shares of privatized enterprises. They will be deposited in the vaults of the Central Bank of Russia and thus the bank's commitments will be backed with something more solid than paper of which Premier Pavlov has tons. Thus we are going to make the ruble circulating in Russia a hard currency.

N.T. Will 7,000 rubles be enough for workers to buy out an enterprise?

M.M. It will be enough to buy out small enterprises. The number of shareholders will have to be increased at more modern, more expensive enterprises. For example, the coal miners had cheques large enough to buy only 40 percent of the stock. Then we allowed them to use the cheques of family members: wives, children, and parents.

N.T. In this case they will be able to buy more than the 51 percent package of shares of which we have spoken.

M.M. We want 100 percent of the stock to belong to workers employed by the enterprise and to members of their families. By the way, this will make about 70 percent of Russian citizens shareholders.

N.T. What about the people who do not work at industrial enterprises?

M.M. The government guarantees that everybody – a journalist, a teacher, a minister, an actor, a policeman, a serviceman, will have an opportunity to invest his or her seven thousand profitably. In agriculture, for instance: say there are 200 people working at one sovkhoz, and the fixed assets of that sovkhoz are worth 20 million. In river transport: there are ships that are worth 30 million rubles, but the crew consists only of 30 people. In air transport: four people pilot a three-million-ruble plane... They will never be able to buy out all this property themselves – and that's when our cheques will be needed. It is very profitable to invest in land, in fisheries, etc.

N.T. The mechanism for buying out the plant you work for is more or less clear. But how does one follow your advice and invest in agriculture?

M.M. We will set up specialized agencies, private and state-run bureaus which will offer profitable options and purchase the shares of various enterprises on the citizens' requests.

N.T. Will it be possible to turn the shares into cash?

M.M. The bill stipulates a three-year

freeze on the selling of shares which people will receive at the first stage of privatization. Three years is the time of learning the ABC's of share-holding, understanding what shares and dividends mean. We expect that up to forty percent of the new shareholders will try to get rid of their securities, fearing that the plant may go bankrupt and their money will be lost.

N.T. The three-year freeze will block the development of a securities market, which makes it possible to mobilize capital for modernization and to increase production. What will the privatized enterprises do once they find themselves cut off from funds?

M.M. We have thought about that. Fixed assets will be evaluated in dollars immediately after joint-stock companies have been established. Shareholders and the board will receive a certificate from a Western firm or a Soviet firm working on the basis of Western methodology, specifying the real worth of the enterprise in world prices. After that the government will recommend that the board issue open shares for up to 49 percent of the dollar value. These shares will be sold to anyone willing to buy them – foreigners, neighbouring republics, even the central government. This will produce an influx of funds for the development of the enterprise

N.T. Won't the selling, and actually the free-of-charge transfer of factories, mines, shipyards, etc. to work collectives be only a transformation of state-run enterprises to collective ones, as if a sovkhoz were transformed to a kolkhoz? There is a difference between the two, of course, but this difference is not in the effectiveness of their performance. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes bear an equal share of responsibility for letting the country starve.

M.M. The practice provides different examples: the production association Keramika in the Rostov Region was on the verge of ruin: its equipment was hopelessly antiquated, and up to 92 percent of the glazed tiles it produced were under the required quality standards. Keramica was made a collective enterprise: 50 people were fired, the wages of others were tripled and now Keramika turns out 82 percent of high-quality glazed tiles.

N.T. This is only one example and it hardly proves anything. There are highly effective and rich kolkhozes, but the kolkhoz system is utterly bankrupt.

M.M. I have cited only one out of many such examples. A recently leased transport enterprise has boosted its effectiveness by 20 percent already. At a Saratov plant people stopped stealing, they want to work at nighttime, too, and agree to work on Saturdays if necessary. When their plant is short of money they even volunteer donations.

N.T. Isn't your ideal very much similar to the Yugoslavian model, the model which as we can see has not justified itself?

M.M. The Yugoslavian model has not worked normally a single day. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia strangled it.

N.T. And still the industrially developed nations manage quite well without self-government.

M.M. The whole world is moving towards joint-stock property, towards self-government. We must follow suit. The distribution of cheques is a forced measure, certainly. But our crisis is really unprecedented and we can't manage without the stage of distribution.

N.T. Does your plan differ from the privatization programme offered by the central government?

M.M. It does, radically. The First Deputy Prime Minister, Vladimir Shcherbakov, is repeating the old programme which had been worked out by Grigory Yavlinsky. The central government which had rejected Yavlinsky's 500–Day Programme is now returning to it. The Union government does not intend to part with anything free of charge (the Union government has no people to take care of), it only suggests that state-run property be bought for cash. Evidently, the Union government has been too lazy to count the money left in our pockets after Pavlov's price hike.

N.T. It is generally believed that the 500–Day Programme was rejected by the Union government and Gorbachev. Do you mean that the Yavlinsky programme is becoming the policy of the Union Cabinet?

M.M. The Yavlinsky programme has never been a programme intended for Russia, it could only be implemented in the integral economic space of the USSR. Grigory Yavlinsky thought all republics would obediently follow what was invented by him, Gorbachev and his academicians. He did not understand that no republic would ever follow his plan. Later he felt insulted because the people had not understood him and rejected the 500–Day Programme.

N.T. Do other republics share your approach?

M.M. Armenia has accepted our programme completely. The Baltics are considering a very similar scheme. Byelorussia and Kazakhstan are also following us. I am sure that other republics will join in. After we handed mines over to the miners the strikes stopped immediately, and I think everybody understood that our policy was the only right one.

N.T. Will the government of Russia be able to privatize enterprises controlled by the Union government, which are, in theory at least, under the jurisdiction of the Union laws?

M.M. 60 percent of employees in Russia work for such enterprises. If the Union law is different from the law of Russia, the latter will prevail. Look here. We will provide workers of a plant controlled by the Union government with cheques which in our view are a solid means of payment, and in the view of the plant's director are worthless scraps of paper. The workers will see other people bying out their factories, becoming shareholders, and they will have to buy their plant for cash simply for the love of Comrade Pavlov. What will they need such a premier for? We believe that the Pavlov Cabinet will not survive three days if it does not transfer all enterprises under the authority of Russia.

N.T. Are you an economist by education?

M.M. I am a chemist and I have some experience in bureaucratic work and some of my double-decker economy projects have already been almost implemented. The enterprise at which I tested new economic practices has become highly effective. And chemistry helps me understand many reaction mechanisms – like in life.

Interviewers **Leonid Mlechin and Tatiana Chernova**

Dachas – the hot item of privatization

No document has required so much effort of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as the Law on General Principles of De-etatization and Privatization. Deputies described it as an attempted coup, as an opportunity to grab more money offered for "all kinds of crooks," as one MP put it. One of the deputies said he had received an anonymous telephone call urging him to vote for the law if he didn't want any trouble.

While some members of parliament were working themselves up to a state of hysteria, predicting the onslaught of "foreign bourgeoisie" grabbing "fatter cuts", privatization proceeded in full swing in this country. The first results of this process were discussed at the sitting of the parliamentary committee for privileges: ministers of the Union government and some of the top-brass have successfully privatized their dachas, many hectares of state-owned land, even furniture, refrigerators, and rugs.

There is hope that privatization will become more honest after the law is adopted. State property will be sold, not given for free. By the end of 1992 almost a half of the fixed assets of Union enterprises will have been either turned to joint-stock property or sold to the highest bidder.

A party of clever people

Three forces are competing for power in our country: the Communist Party, economic dislocation and democracy

WHAT IS GOING ON? The first presidential elections in Russia have shown the general mood of the people who expect sympathy. The elections have also shown the people's intense desire which is destined to take some form. The time has come for a new political party. A new big party is coming out of a spontaneous grassroots movement, not from the spark, struck with difficulty, which has kindled a devouring flame. At last, very likely, an end will be put to the one-party system which still exists, although the formation of other political parties is formally permitted now. But we haven't got them, as a matter of fact. With all due respect to the small parties (whose number has reached or has exceeded 40) none of them can be considered a serious political force. We still have only one political party.

Our country needs a democratic party today. Not creating it is a mortal sin before the nation.

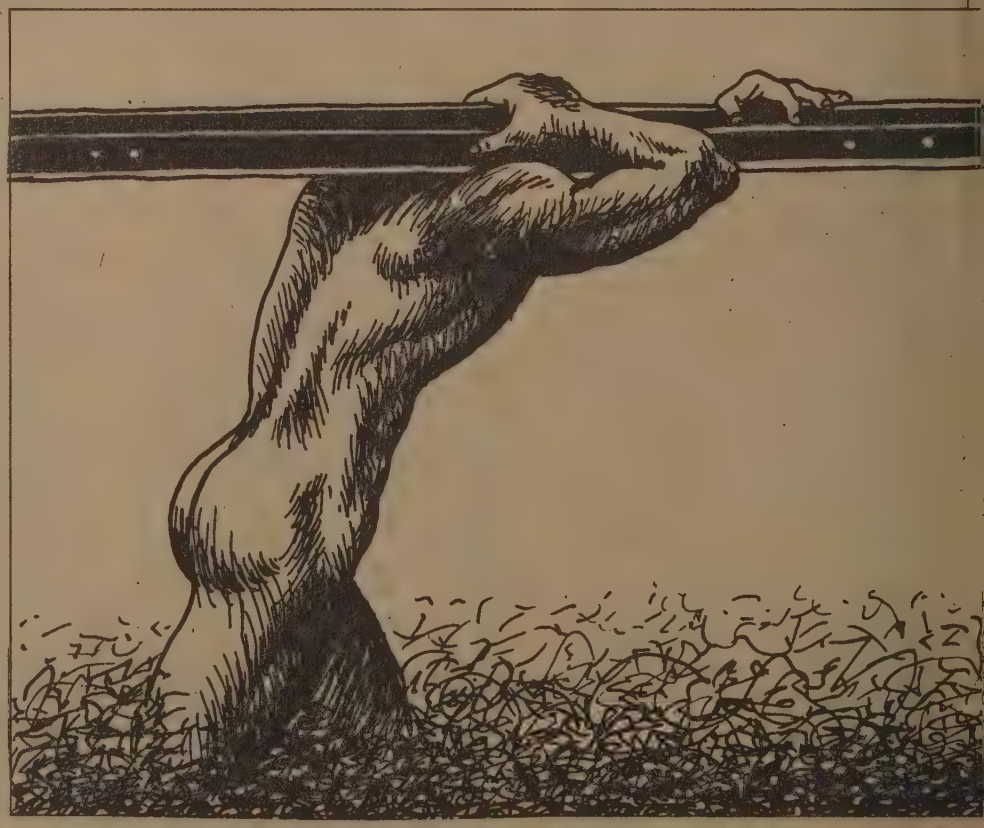
And now, in addition to the Novo-Ogaryovo talks, the Soviet people have learnt about the consultations at a high public level, about the statement of nine influential political leaders, a forthcoming Party congress, and the argument whether to establish a party or a movement. It seems that reason prevails now. It dictates that people stop and think, not hurry up.

Of course, everything should be thought over – the new party's programme, its chapter and membership – to prevent a false start.

WHAT IS GOING ON? Three forces are competing for power in our country: the Communist Party, economic dislocation, and democracy.

The first force the Communist Party, is not going to admit its failure, in spite of the apparent political and moral misery and utter bankruptcy. A tremendous number of Communist Party members have spread over all sections of the Soviet population, tanks and guns are ready, the OMON units are on the stand-by, and the Marshals are prepared to defend the "constitutional," that is, socialist system. It is extremely hard to control these activities.

It is even harder to cope with the second



mighty force: economic dislocation. Unlike the Communist Party, which is an unlawful force, economic dislocation is thriving on the laws of decay, which do not depend on us. It is impossible to resist those laws. The only way to survive is to rear most assiduously some new and vital force. The main criterion here should be the ability of that force to lead an independent life without coersion, government pressure, or artificial nourishing.

The third force is democracy. It is to hold on in the struggle against two its rivals – the Communist Party and economic dislocation – which act as one. The former compels democrats to form a party of resistance. The latter impells them to become a party of construction.

History repeats itself. We need once again a party of a new type, this time different from the Communist Party. Perhaps that new party should correspond to a new world? We have a special treatment of politics: we hate it more than anyone else in the world, but we cannot do without it. In the United States leading political parties do

IS GOING ON **WHAT** *WILL BE*

without membership. Those are the parties of election campaigns. By our tradition, we have a party-membership card with all necessary particulars: the stamps, signatures, and notes about the payment of membership dues. And the main thing is discipline without which construction is impossible.

Should a new party be formed as a mirror-image of the Communist Party?

A MIRROR–IMAGE PARTY? It is impossible to create a new party as a mere mirror-image of the Communist Party. The latter is such a consummate and ideal embodiment of its fundamental principle, and is as perfect organizationally, that an antipodean political party would be nothing in comparison.

Indeed, judging the Communist Party by its deeds, the victory of Communists appears impressive. From the very outset the Communist Party declared its yearning for power and it has seized power. It promised to liquidate private property and did that so resolutely, that today no one knows how to turn state property into private property once again. It declared that it would do away with classes and would put an end to class struggle, and it has done all that. There is no one left to fight against today: all of them were either shot, tortured to death, or brought to ruin. The Communist Party promised a dictatorship, and it has established an absolute dictatorship unprecedented in world history. One of its slogans was: "Down with non-Party men of letters!" And none of these men of letters was spared. The list of such accomplishments is endless.

The Communist Party promised to build socialism in a single country. It should be said in all fairness that it has done this. So, what is decaying and degenerating today is socialism, the realm of public property, in its real and consummate incarnation. True, some people allege that it is not yet socialism, that it has yielded no fruit for the present, and so on. About such people children usually say: "They seem to have a screw loose."

The results are unprecedented and unequaled.

Some people might say about a new party: "What is it? Do you call it a party? The Communist Party was one!" Democrats should by no means feel bad in such a case. They should know beforehand that their activities will not be as stunning as those of the Communist Party.

Socialism, as a system of violence against ethnic groups, the state, man, society, nature, land, science, culture, freedom, prices, the national economy, and common sense, was established and supported solely by coercive methods based on coercion withing the Communist Party itself. At first, dictatorship emerged within the Party, later it spread over the entire Soviet land.

The main point here is that the source of coersion is within the Party, in the form of crude and absolute suppression of different trends of thought and freethinking. The Party would have never scored its bloody successes without it.

A new democratic organization does not need ferociously spectacular progress. Hence, it does

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

not need the discipline of the Communist Party. Its organizational principle could be formulated as a safe compulsion. The Communist Party is a trap. None of its members can leave it without ruinig his life. The Communist Party gives rise to coersion. In the same way, a democratic party should give rise to a desire for freedom. The talent for freedom is a necessity in our country. A new party could stimulate people's desire for freedom. While spreading over the country, freedom will gradually lose its energy, often encountering government needs – the government cannot do without coersion. There's nothing to do. In this context the only important point is to stimulate freedom even more strongly. Not long ago I extracted the following passage from a book: "... the development of a people mature enough to wish for freedom, and ready to work and to fight for freedom." A new party might have approximately the same goals.

WHAT IS GOING ON? The birth of a child into a family brings about joy and anxiety. No one can be sure that everything is OK with the child until he is set on his feet. And our baby, our new party has a rather contaminated heredity. All or almost all numerous founders of this new organization are of Communist descent. A new party will mean a lot to politicians. It will be a heaven for many of those who have grown tired of the Communist Party, but are not accustomed to existing outside a party, and who do not want to join small spontaneously formed parties which they hold in slight contempt because of their non-professionalism. The new party will be prestigious if it is joined by prominent political leaders well known throughout the USSR as democrats.

What will the new party give to rank-and-file participants in the democratic movement?

According to Max Weber, political parties are "... the leagues of the public based on a free enlistment of persons having identical ideas, with a view to bringing the leaders of a league to political power and, thereby, giving its members fresh financial and other opportunities."

To a certain extent each of us is a hypocrite. We are accustomed to a situation where people join a political party in order "to devote themselves to the cause," etc. And Max Weber openly speaks of joining a party in order to gain opportunities.

As a matter of fact, in their activities people usually abide by the principle of gaining some advantage. Every CPSU District Committee has approximately 500 lucrative jobs which cannot be given to anyone without its consent. In this way it supports obedient and industrious people, and grants an honorific social status to other people (which is also good pay). What will a new party or a new movement give to people? The answer to this question shows the degree of humaneness of an emerging political force.

ANOTHER PATTERN. I should like to make my idea clear by giving an example. Perhaps for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union (after the 1917 October Revolution) a large-scale democratic movement developed around *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (Teachers' Gazette) at the end of the eighties, when Vladimir Matveyev was its Editor-in-Chief.

At least three lessons can be learnt from the short history of that movement of secondary-school teachers.

The first lesson. A public movement cannot exist without an influential newspaper for the masses of people, without direct contacts between the ideologists of that movement and each of its participants. Our movement emerged from the midst of subscribers. It collapsed on the second day of the Communist Party's establishing control over *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* and, as it was said, "re-orienting" it. There can be no influential public movement without an influential newspaper. Lenin was quite right when he spoke about a newspaper as a collective organizer.

The second lesson. While forming a political party or a public movement, its fathers are sure to work on a draft programme and rules with zeal, endlessly discussing them, having arguments about them, and making a lot of amendments. "Why is nothing said about young people?" someone might ask. And a paragraph or two about young people will be added to the texts. "Why have women been forgotten?" another person might note. And another paragraph or two will be added. After that there might be a heated argument about the criterions for membership and the treatment of those people or a group of people, a collective member, who might disgrace the noble name of a Democrat.

Life has shown that the programme and the rules of a political party or a public movement are of interest only to their top leaders. Rank-and-file members hardly use them. It's fine if they read those documents once. Of course, an organization should have its main documents, at least for its registration. Strange as it may seem, though, success often depends on a document of another kind, like some manifesto addressed to people. Of decisive importance to the public movement of teachers was the *Pedagogics of Cooperation* manifesto compiled in Peredelkino, near Moscow, by progressive teachers. It did not contain a single word either about a secondary school reform, the deplorable situation in public education, or the predominance of excessive bureaucracy. The manifesto suggested some ways of coping with difficulties and advanced new ideas. As soon as it was published, secondary school teachers divided into its supporters (democrats), its opponents, and a group of indifferent teachers. Moreover, clubs of teachers began mushrooming all over the USSR (with the help of *Uchitelskaya Gazeta*). Regional conferences were held. As a result, at the constituent congress that followed all delegates knew one another well.

The third lesson. A manifesto or any other main document, ideas, and leaders, should be able to inspire the establishment of local organisations on their own, by the will, and on the initiative of the people working in those localities.

A participant in such a movement thus has moral support. He might live in some remote area, but he knows from his newspaper that he has like-minded persons in other places, that many people approve of his ideas, and that he is not just a crazy individual. There is no democratic movement in the USSR so far, but the word "Democrat" already sounds insulting to many people. I happened to read about the chairman of a collective farm, to whom local authorities gave nothing because it had been rumoured that he was a "Democrat". Life is not very sweet for Democrats, so far. So, they need their movement now, above all for support, irrespective of the results of elections. People need a new, democratic party for their everyday life and activities, not just for an election campaign, or their support for authorities.

WHAT IS GOING ON? I happened to read in some paper, of late, that there are not too many fools in the world: only three percent of the total population. However, those who have spoken with high-ranking officials at any level cannot help thinking that our vanguard party has 20 to 30 times more fools in it than the average. It seems that the Communist Party used to fish fools out of the masses of people and place them in responsible posts.

Clever people can be the strength of a new party. If it has not more than three percent of fools among its leaders it will look attractive to people. Let us not talk about "scoring victories" in this connection. Aren't we sick and tired of all-triumphant parties?

Simon Soloveichik

IS GOING ON
WHAT
WILL BE

What do we need nukes for?

Sergei Blagovolin

Testing the Bomb Tested by the Bomb

The article by three nuclear arms specialists Andryushin, Trutnev and Chernyshov *Nuclear Weapons: Too Serious to Be Treated Lightly* (NT No.26) has evoked different opinions. Not all people share the three authors' "love for the Bomb."

It is not very often that the Soviet press carries articles by specialists in the technical aspects of the nuclear problem, which is inseparably connected with all the problems relating to arms control.

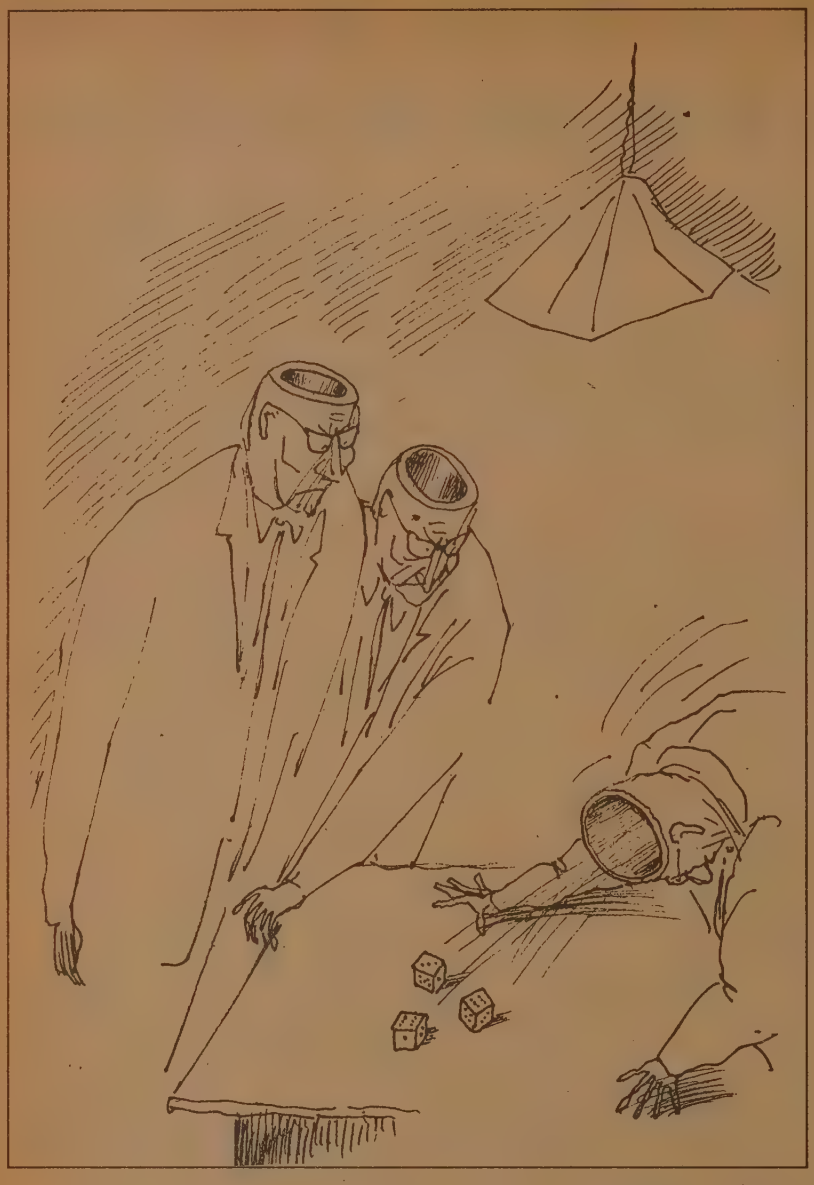
None of the observations supplied by Andryushin, Trutnev, and Chernyshov can be ignored, thanks to the authors' real professionalism and common sense. The authors stressed the important role of nuclear weapons in the preservation of international stability – I fully share this viewpoint and have been advocating it in the press for several years already. The authors believe that a unilateral halt to nuclear tests can be very harmful to the national security of this country – this point can hardly be questioned. The authors draw the readers' attention to new sources of threats to peace, which are outside the framework of the superpower military confrontation: once again, I am prepared to subscribe to their words, moreover, I would also like to add that these new sources of threats will constitute the main danger for the future of humankind. However, I believe that the authors exaggerate the importance of some of the new threats they enumerated (the demographic boom, exhaustion of raw materials, ecological crisis, chronic food shortages, and the spiritual and moral degradation of the civilization). In my opinion, some of these threats can be, if not removed altogether, at least controlled by the common sense we so often lack. In this case, however, there is powerful incentive for displaying common sense – the feeling of self-preservation.

At the same time, the authors forgot to mention one very important threat: some regimes' inclination to use force to solve the problems confronting them, instead of trying to solve these problems in the course of social and economic development. The recent events in the Persian Gulf have demonstrated that this is a very realistic threat which exists now and will remain in the foreseable future. If Iraq had had nuclear weapons, I do not think Saddam Hussein would have hesitated to use them. This, by the way, is one more weighty argument for both superpowers' preserving powerful nuclear arsenals, although on a reduced scale.

However, on the other hand, a number of the authors' views voiced in that article need, in my opinion, to be objected to our commented on with consideration of some additional factors. Let us begin with nuclear tests proper. It is obvious that nuclear tests will be needed as long as nuclear weapons exist. It is not up to me to judge what kind of tests are needed and how often the tests should be carried out: the authors furnish professional considerations on this score and both official and public organizations have in recent years provided a number of interesting and reasonable ideas. However, the authors say: "In the past few years the normal course of work in the Soviet nuclear complex has been disrupted... It is necessary to decide in principle whether the Soviet Union will remain a nuclear power, or will start unilateral nuclear disarmament." It is clear that the authors have in mind the situation that has taken shape at the Soviet Union's two nuclear testing sites near Semipalatinsk and on the Novaya Zemlya Archipelago. The authors suggest that a system of compensations and privileges be introduced for all citizens whose lives are in any way affected by nuclear tests, so as to remove the existing problems. This consideration appears highly debatable. What compensations and privileges can be provided for people suffering from malignant tumours and leukemia? What can be the compensation for the birth of physically and mentally retarded children? Don't the people of Semipalatinsk, Karaganda, and other cities, towns, and villages situated close to the Semipalatinsk testing site have the right to demand that this form of slow killing be halted immediately? The authors speak about the ecological crisis themselves. What are they going to provide as compensation for the suffering environment at the Northern nuclear testing site on Novaya Zemlya?

When they read this, the authors may shrug their shoulders and say that I am contradicting myself: at the beginning of this article I stated that I was for the continuation of tests, and now I am speaking out against it. However, there are no contradictions in my approach. The time has come to pay for the years of handling problems cavalierly, including the one of nuclear tests, when decisions were made with no respect for the people's well-being and health. Now we must collect our thoughts and reflect on how to continue nuclear tests without endangering people's and nature's health, or at least how to minimize the damage done by the tests. This problem cannot be solved by "extraordinary measures," it requires some long and thorough work.

I would like to remind the authors that the US testing site in Nevada is not situated any farther



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

away from cities and towns that the Semipalatinsk testing site. Even the very popular gambling city of Las Vegas is very close to the Nevada testing site. It goes without saying that there is nothing resembling the consequences of Soviet nuclear tests in America, thanks to the modern level of technology. Certainly, the high level of safety is expensive to maintain. But the authors themselves were absolutely right when they noted that nuclear weapons were too dangerous to be treated lightly.

It is absolutely clear that a couple of years' delay with nuclear tests will not entail any tragic consequences either in the scientific and technological, or military aspects. But is also clear that this time must suffice for making a well-considered decision on which tests can be carried out, how to make tests safer, and where to test nuclear charges.

The authors also touch on military-political problems. In my opinion, in a number of cases the authors' approach to these issues is too traditional and not always correct. For example, the authors say that the threat of the United States' using nuclear weapons in a regional conflict may encourage some countries to start building up their own nuclear arsenals. In this case the logical connection is missing. It is enough to recall the nuclear programmes of Israel, South Africa, and the military regimes of Brazil, for example, to see the absence of any connection. The situation that now exists in the Hindustan Peninsula is in no way connected with either strategic or tactical American nuclear weapons. Saddam Hussein obviously was guided by other motives when he attacked Kuwait. The countries which aspire to create their own nuclear potentials want nuclear arms to achieve their own, not always noble, objectives, rather than to challenge the United States (or the Soviet Union, which is geographically much closer to the South than the USA or Western Europe). The United States has not used nuclear arms in any regional conflict, and it is not likely to use them unless in retaliation to a first nuclear strike.

By the way, this is the reason why neither the Soviet Union nor the United States should hurry to destroy their tactical nuclear weapons and more importantly, the superpowers must pool their efforts with other developed and some developing countries for the construction of a defence system that could shield them from the nuclear missiles which could soon appear in some countries and could probably be used to blackmail neighbouring countries, the United States, the Soviet Union and European countries. The authors are right when they note that "in a number of cases primitive but devastating types of nuclear weapons can be developed without any tests." The construction of an effective strategic defence system combined with powerful nuclear deterrence potentials could serve as an obstacle to the proliferation of nuclear weapons until the still remote time when this proliferation is contained by political means.

What is my view of the prerequisites of nuclear non-proliferation and, in an even more distant perspective, of the nuclear-free world? Let us turn to the past, because without studying the history of the problem we will not be able to understand its present and future. In its time, the creation of nuclear weapons was a major historic event for the Soviet Union. The scientists who participated in the Soviet nuclear programme, including Academician Andrey Sakharov, believed their participation in the development of the lethal weapons was justified by the necessity to preserve the balance of other forces in the world. However, life has demonstrated the other side of this problem, too. Very often we ascribed our own intentions to the Americans and proceeded from this vision in our practical actions. It must not be forgotten that for a number of years the United States had a complete monopoly on nuclear weapons. After this monopoly was broken, the United States continued to possess an absolute nuclear superiority over the USSR until the late 1950s. Even during the Cuban missile crisis the Soviet Union had fewer nuclear

weapons than the United States, to say nothing of the delivery vehicles. The authors mentioned the American strategic plans for nuclear attacks against dozens of Soviet cities, which meant the virtual destruction of this country. Such plans, however, are nothing but operational planning, part and parcel of any military activity. There is no need to show that the Soviet Union also had similar plans vis-à-vis the United States. Such plans have always been made (and very probably, will continue to be made), but have never been put into practice. Moreover, the Soviet Union has never been the victim of any serious nuclear blackmail. Nuclear weapons were not used even during the Korean war which was the most difficult war for the United States. Now let us imagine for a moment what would have happened had the nuclear monopoly belonged to the "fighter for peace" Stalin, not "the warmonger" Truman. I think we must thank god this was not the case in reality.

I mention all this because I do not think we must continue to suspect the United States of having homicidal, in fact, suicidal inclinations. The United States has never intended to cary out a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, being fully aware of the fact that the consequences of any nuclear conflict will be as devastating for the aggressor as for the victim of the aggression.

Frankly speaking, I am strongly opposed to the attempts to regard Soviet-American relations from the point of view of the situation that existed a decade ago. The current developments inequivocably testify that the United States and other developed nations are interested in the stability of the Soviet Union, and this country's existence as a state capable of pursuing responsible policies. The situation when the Soviet Union loses control over its nuclear arsenals is as dangerous for the West as it is for this country. Nuclear weapons are the source of horrible tragedies not only for the weak state they belong to (what the authors are right to stress) but also for the weak state's neighbours, and, in the case of the Soviet Union, for the whole world.

Understanding this, no country demands a unilateral Soviet nuclear disarmament. Moreover, there is an active probing for the ways out of the crisis.

This situation must be used to the fullest extent to start military cooperation with the West and the gradual, very cautious, but irreversible development of this cooperation. This is not a naive dream. Gen. Galwin, the European commander of NATO has openly spoken about the necessity and even inevitability of such cooperation. With time, we may be able to reach the level of relations the United States now has with nuclear powers of Western Europe, relations ruling out the remotest possibility of mutual nuclear threat. As for the complicated transition period from the current situation to an epoch of cooperation, tactical nuclear weapons will remain a reliable guarantee of stability ruling out any unforeseen emergencies. In this aspect I fully agree with Mrs. Thatcher.

At the same time, the new character of our relations in the military sphere will help create an international climate conducive to the formation of such a global military political situation which will in the long run make it possible to speak of a nuclear free world. This will require profound changes in the character of international relations not only along the East-West line (such changes are already taking place), but also along the North-South and South-South lines.

Today there is no doubt that no effective defence system will be created in the next ten to fifteen years which would neutralize the nuclear weapons systems possessed by the United States and the Soviet Union. The technologically feasible ABM systems are designed for other missions. However, I do not think that, mapping out the concepts of national security, we should proceed from the belief that nuclear weapons are technologically immortal. It seems to me that the time of nuclear weapons is running out. This is one more argument in favour of a broad and really stable military cooperation with the West. If we are not able to bring about the necessary changes by the right moment, the nuclear-free world may prove to be more dangerous that the world loaded with nuclear weapons. In conclusion, I would like to agree with the authors in the sense that the implementation of the disarmament accords requires great political determination and foresight. I would only like to add that both are only possible if the sides have a clear vision of reality – both the new threats and the new opportunities for a long-term consolidation of this country's national security. Soviet nuclear arms must not be a hindrance to, but an organic component of the entire disarmament process.

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A la guerre comme a la guerre

The EC delegation managed to persuade the leaders of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia to arrive at a compromise when the country was teetering on the verge of catastrophe. A three-month moratorium on secession is expected to provide ample time to solve debatable issues. But it is too early to say that the conflict is over.

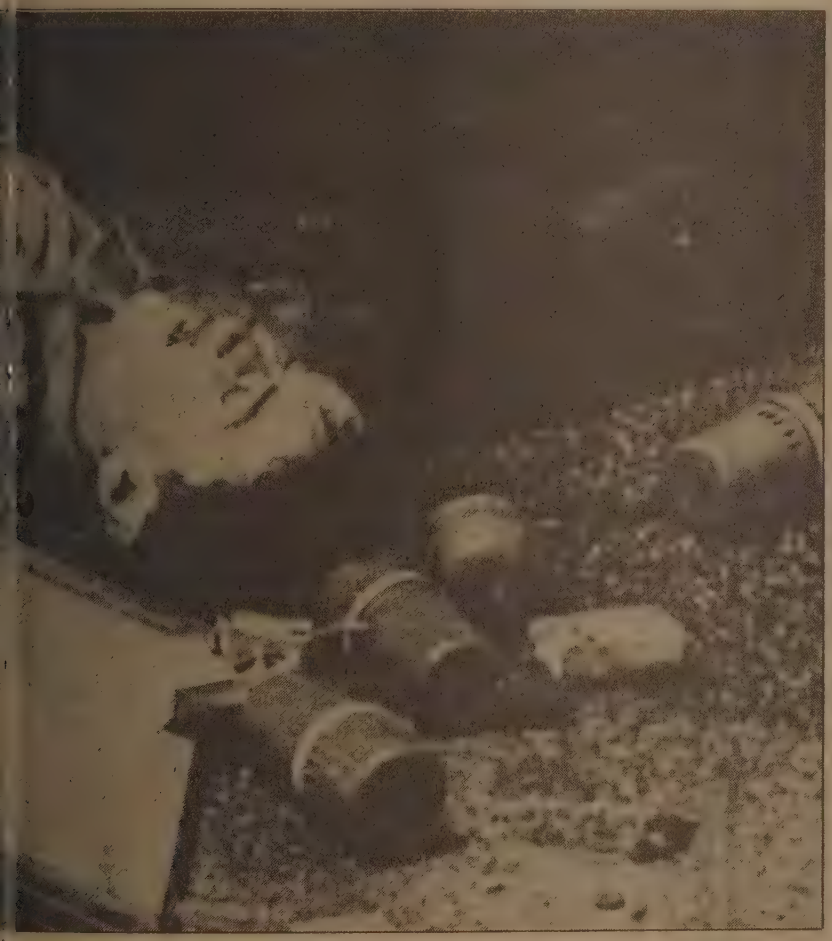
The troops pay for the generals' and politicians' calculations

Few people today believe that Yugoslavia can continue to survive as a united state. The recent developments have catalyzed the disintegration of the once united nation. The attempts by the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia to slow the process of disintegration have so far been futile. Slovenia seems to be in no hurry to honour the ceasefire accords, in spite of the fact that those accords are solidly backed by the European Community. The Slovenians' stubbornness is not a poker-style bluff, but the result of a sober analysis of the situation that took shape after the Yugoslav People's Army ended its operation in the republic.

The operation, mounted by the YPA in Slovenia and its results can hardly be evaluated unambiguously. The troops were dispatched to the republic by order of the federal parliament and the Yugoslavian government to restore the border regime unilaterally disrupted by Slovenia. The mission was carried out in less than twenty four hours. After that the real fighting began.

nationalities has proved to be no more than propaganda.

The Yugoslav People's Army is being pressured from two directions. Some demand that it remain in the barracks no matter what goes on in the country, others are pushing it towards seizing power. The army leadership's opinion is divided. Defence Minister of Yugoslavia Gen.



and miscalculation with their own blood

The final balance of the "adventure in Slovenia" is regrettable for the Yugoslav People's Army: it has lost 39 soldiers and 2,300 were taken prisoner. The Slovenian casualties were limited to four people. Many of those taken prisoner deserted from the YPA to the Slovenian side, mainly officers and enlisted men of Slovenian descent. It would be naive to expect that young Slovenians – servicemen of the YPA – would really fight against their restive compatriots.

The operation in Slovenia demonstrated that the Yugoslav People's Army may soon share the fate of the whole country and break apart. All the talk about the YPA being a monolith of fraternal friendship between servicemen belonging to different

Kadijevic is convinced, on the one hand, that "the internal crisis cannot be settled with the use of armed force" and, on the other hand, that the army cannot remain indifferent to interethnic conflicts.

Seeking to avoid accusations of excessive political involvement, the Yugoslav People's Army has for a long time pretended not to notice the intensive formation of republican armies. Today these armies are trying to push the YPA out of the political scene. Since the departification of the army, the army has not become any more professional. The resulting ideological vacuum was quickly filled by forces which regard a united Yugoslavia as the main obstacle to the implementation of nationalist aspirations.

Nevertheless, many are blaming the army for "the Slovenian case." Even the federal government tried to distance itself from the military's actions. That is why it is difficult to say now who really is to blame for the outburst of violence in Slovenia. At the same time, one can state with certainty that Slovenia has emerged morally victorious from the crisis. The republican leadership has managed to consolidate the Slovenians and to win a considerable amount of support from international public opinion. If some ten days ago Europe unanimously opposed Slovenia's secessionist ambitions, refused to recognize independent Slovenia and support the resolute measures taken by the federal government, now some European countries are already speaking up in favour of the independence of Yugoslavia's constituent republics.

The Slovenian leaders do not seem to doubt that sooner or later the other republics of Yugoslavia and the European Community will agree on Slovenia's secession from the Yugoslavian federation. This is what will most likely happen. The other day Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic said Serbia would not object if Slovenia finally opted to secede.

If Slovenia breaks away, the problem of Yugoslavian unity will enter an even more dramatic stage. Croatia is almost certain to follow the Slovenian example, and if it does, a new crisis will be inevitable, because the Croatian authorities in Zagreb have already voiced their determination to keep Croatian areas populated by Serbs under their control. The Serb population is intensively preparing for war, refusing to believe that peaceful cohabitation may be possible. One Serb living in Croatia described the situation in the republic thus: "The Croatians were shelling our village and Serbs had to crawl from one house to another across vegetable patches. But we have hit back at them and now they, too, have to crawl across their vegetable patches."

So far the Yugoslav People's Army separates the Serbs and the Croatians. However, the Croatian authorities insist that the federal troops be withdrawn to the barracks. If the army pulls out, the words of one Yugoslavian general may prove prophetic: "When the YPA returns to the barracks, a civil war will start in Croatia."

The Yugoslavian crisis is rapidly exceeding national confines. It has already acquired an international dimension. Even the European Community and other international organizations find it difficult to untangle the Yugoslavian knot. It was hardly incidental that during his recent visit to Belgrade US Secretary of State James Baker confided to journalists that it had been more difficult to negotiate in Yugoslavia than in the Middle East.

Gennady Sysoyev,
our own correspondent

BELGRADE

Tanks in a United Europe?

Galina Sidorova

Tanks in Slovenia. In Tbilisi. In Vilnius.

Different countries. Similar scenarios. Tanks rolled into the streets of Belgrade in March, 1991 after a massive opposition rally. At the same time Yugoslavian generals demanded that a state of emergency be declared in the country. The Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia rejected the idea then. In July armoured units of the Yugoslav People's Army rolled into secession-minded Slovenia and clashed with the republican territorial units.

On the eve of April 9, 1989, tank formations rolled across Tbilisi, Georgia, in an attempt to intimidate peaceful anti-government protesters. The show of force climaxed the following night when paratroopers used pioneer spades to quell a peaceful rally.

On January 13, tanks crushed people outside the Vilnius TV and Radio Centre.

Similar explanation. The military has to assume the mission of saving the nation when the civilian authorities are paralyzed. Sometimes, the military assumes this mission of its own accord. This is exactly what happened in Yugoslavia. While the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia, which acts as the Commander-in-Chief of the Yugoslav People's Army, tried to sort things out with the republics, the military, as they said themselves, got down to business. The operation aimed at restoring the Slovenian segment of the border resulted in bloody clashes.

Speaking at the July 4 press conference Premier Ante Markovic distanced himself from the activities of the army, stressing that his government "was not having any contacts with the Supreme Command" and had not participated in the planning of the operation. According to the premier, the federal government had not ordered any military operation. On the day before the Markovic statement, however, General Adzic, member of the Supreme Command Staff, said the army would crush the Slovenian attempts at secession in one massive strike.

On the day after the Tbilisi tragedy General Rodionov tried to explain to me that the troops had had to do the dirty work "because the civilian authorities had been paralyzed" and had not done anything to stem the anti-Communist propaganda coming from a handful of extremists who had been calling on the people to take to the streets.

In Vilnius, the military took pride in their halting of what they believed to be politically harmful broadcasts.

Some Yugoslavian generals and Communist hard-liners maintain that the events in that country are the result of hostile sallies and intrigues. The enemy has become more cunning and crafty, operating through his agents inside the country, gradually engineering a disintegration of Yugoslavia. (Meanwhile, the world and European communities were especially concerned to see Yugoslavia a united country.) We have heard something like this, too. During the recent parliamentary demarche of the Soviet Union's magnificent three – Defence Minister Yazov, Interior Minister Pugo, and KGB Chairman Kryuchkov – Vladimir Kryuchkov spoke about "agents of influence" planted by the imperialists in the Soviet Union in order to facilitate the disintegration and the destruction of the USSR.

Similar consequences. The Slovenian operation alone left 39 people dead and 152 wounded on the side of the army, and 4 killed and 66 wounded on the Slovenian side. The Tbilisi crackdown resulted in dozens of deaths and hundreds of people wounded. The Vilnius attack against the TV Centre also resulted in civilian casualties.

As a result, the Baltics, Georgia, Slovenia, and Croatia have only become firmer in their determination to secede.

Who writes scenarios for the generals

The three tragedies also posed similar questions. Did the president know? Did the premier know? Who knew? Who issued orders? As a rule, these questions remain unanswered.

Unlike our Soviet hard-liners who are sure that the scenario of perestroika was written somewhere in the Washington corridors of power, I do not think the military in the USSR and now in Yugoslavia act according to one and the same scenario. The situation is simpler: the old system's agony proceeds similarly, especially in multinational states. Supressed for decades, national awareness is awakening sometimes in wild forms. The army supports the most conservative forces. The generals' attempts to go in for politics, to influence political decisions, or to make such decisions themselves only aggravate the problems, complicated as they are.

The use of armed forces to solve interethnic and political differences is fraught with unpredictable consequences for European stability, too.

The Europeans have adopted their code of conduct – the ten Helsinki principles. In my opinion, the recent events show that either this code needs to be expanded or some of its paragraphs need to be revised. For example, what is an internal affair of a state and what must be settled by joint efforts in the CSCE framework? Maybe, the newborn mechanism of emergency situations is worth being vested with not only recommendation functions? In other words, if we want to live in a shared European home being governed by shared human values, we must first and foremost bar tanks from European streets.

Between Vilnius and Belgrade

The end of the Sovietcentric system of relations in Eastern Europe

Pavel Kandel

Folklore says that the name of the devil must not be evoked close to nighttime. According to this wisdom, had the politologists not spoken about Balkanization, the Yugoslavian syndrome would not have occurred. Another variant is also possible: had the danger of Balkanization been heeded and realized, the worst might have been averted. A certain degree of contingency in this case is connected with the fact that although the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and CMEA meant the end of the Sovietcentric system of relations in Eastern Europe, the new evolution towards a Eurocentric model will hardly grow strong enough to construct a new system of relations in Eastern Europe. East European countries, living through a period of domestic political instability which is unavoidable during the affirmation of a new socio-political system amidst the ruins of totalitarianism, simultaneously found themselves in the zone of foreign political instability, which is a logical result of the absence of organizing structures. All this is happening in conditions under which the frightening demon of nationalism has already become a material force.

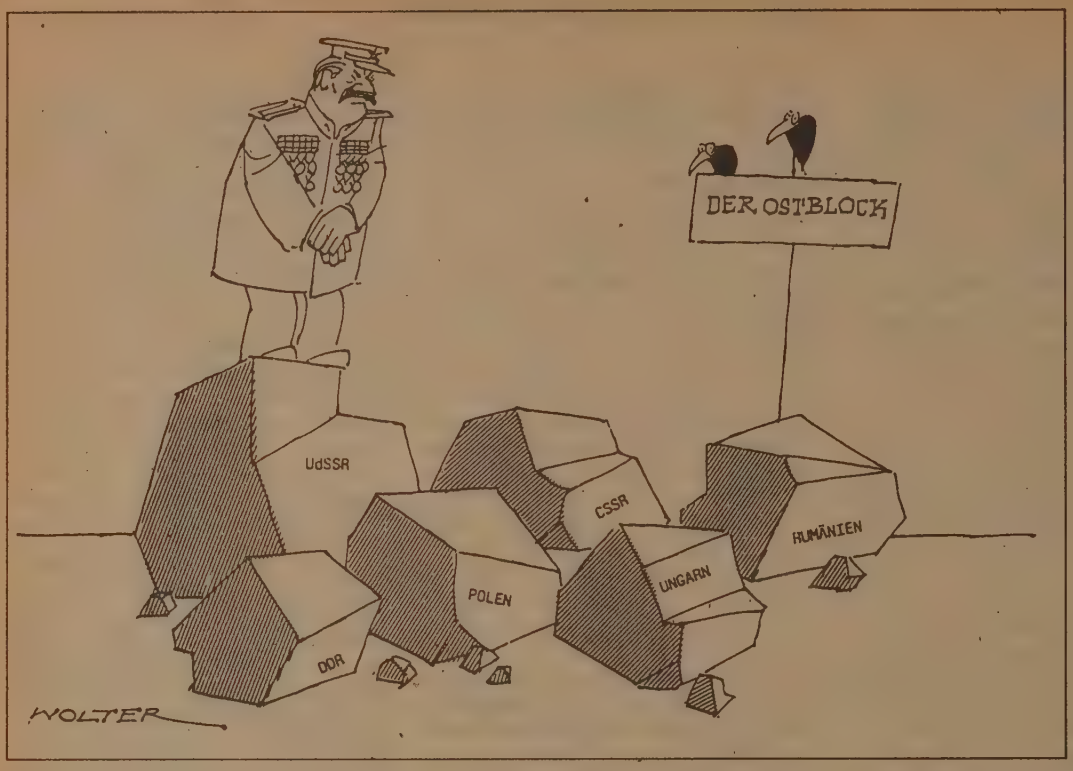
Many East Europeans believed that the term "Balkanization," produced from under the archive dust, was an evil concoction of the world capitals possessed by the great-power syndrome. Speaking in Oslo in August 1990, President Vaclav Havel of Czecho-Slovakia objected to the vision of Central and Eastern Europe as "a potential powder keg, as a space where nationalism, ethnic incompatibility, and as a result, various manifestations of collective hatred were on the rise." The recent events in Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia, which have confirmed the worst expectations, generate a feeling of regret rather than a feeling of malicious joy. The strengthening economic, political and military cooperation of Hungary, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia can also be explained by the security vacuum in the now bloc-free region; after the February meeting of the leaders of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, the tendency for more cooperation began to materialize, although the Hungarian initiative to set up a trilateral union was rejected.

The feeling of insecurity must have intensified in East European countries after the Soviet backpedalling on domestic and foreign policies in the autumn of 1990–winter of 1991. The events in the Baltics that reminded East Europeans of the 1956 and 1968 invasions reanimated the imperial image of the Soviet Union which they had started to forget, lulled by the talk about "new political thinking." Since any reasonable policy planning requires that the crisis-management strategies be worked out on the basis of the worst possible scenario, the main threat to the security of East European countries started looming in the East once again. These fears might be imaginary, and the Moscow Spring of 1991 might have generated new (easily the last) hopes, but the feeling of suspicion remains. Hardly had the Nine Plus One accords been signed, when a new outburst of violence occurred in Transcaucasia, the Yavlinsky mission to the United States was stabbed in the back by the Soviet troops' new outrage in the Baltics. Needless to say, all this did not make our East European neighbours feel more secure.

External threats can for some time balance the potential conflicts inside the region, but the danger of such conflicts remains topical nonetheless. The inviolability of the borders sealed by the Helsinki Final Act is recognized by all European states. However, the disappearance of one of those states and the emergence of weak new entities without internationally recognized borders may provoke dangerous transformations. If Czecho-Slovakia or Yugoslavia disintegrate, and not in a peaceful way at that (today this assumption may not seem insulting or unrealistic), will their neighbours be reasonable enough not to claim any rights to the Yugoslavian or Czecho-Slovakian legacy or to deploy their troops to defend friendly ethnic minorities in the respective territories? At the end of the 20th century this assumption seems archaic, but the developments in Yugoslavia strongly remind one of the 19th-century conflicts. East European neighbours have some serious territorial claims to each other, and Kosovo, Vojvodina and Macedonia may easily be turned into targets for "age-old national aspirations." Will the current crisis become the beginning of a chain reaction of international conflicts?

All this shows that no Central or East European country can feel perfectly secure today. Both the East and the West are seriously alarmed by the prospect of interethnic strife and reshaping of international bordes. It seems that East European countries have not yet chosen between the two evils: the forceful stabilization in the Soviet Union and the establishment of an authoritarian regime with imperial ambitions, prepared to "correct the mistakes of the ill-considered retreat," or a chaotic disintegration, accompanied by millions of refugees and by civil strife spreading across the borders. The European Community and NATO are not enthusiastic about either of these prospects. However, some experts' suggestion that the sphere of NATO influence be extended from Brest to Brest in order to prevent the two prospects from becoming reality does not inspire much enthusiasm either. And for good reason – the Soviet Union will hardly agree to the role of a passive onlooker watching NATO's eastward expansion and the construction of a new Berlin Wall on its western borders. Even if increasing internal instability in the Soviet Union continues and finally robs this country of its quick reaction capabilities, why give such powerful trump cards to the proponents of renewed international confrontation, who have already climbed out of the trenches in the USSR and launched the decisive offensive? Who will stop them and where?

Meanwhile, if all subjects of international relations in the region feel insecure about each other, these overlapping threats must paradoxically serve as the foundation for a new system of regional security in Eastern Europe which will be a component of common European security. Mutual fears define an area of common interests – preservation of stability in the region, settling of



Drawing from the magazine Dialog (FRG)

domestic political conflicts, prevention of the possible negative influence of regional problems on the Soviet Union's relations with the European Community and the United States, ruling out of unilateral forceful pressure on the region and, finally, transformation of Central and Eastern Europe from a field of possible rivalry and confrontation to a link in the common European chain of security and cooperation.

From the viewpoint of these perfectly realistic objectives, the key to the solution of regional conflicts is not to be found in bilateral interaction between the Soviet Union and the states of Central and Eastern Europe, and not in the much hoped-for treaties on good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and its western neighbours. The solution can be found in Soviet relations with the European Community, NATO and the United States, for these relations define the rate of the rapprochement between Eastern and Western Europe and the final shape of this rapprochement. The main means for reaching these objectives may be joint Soviet and Western guarantees of security offered to the countries of the region.

Such guarantees could be legally sealed in the form of a regional treaty embracing the Soviet Union, NATO or the Western European Union, and all the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Another variant is to conclude a series of individual trilateral treaties between the Soviet Union, NATO (WEU) and each of the regional countries. Such treaties would comply with the CSCE principles and make these principles more concrete as applied to the problems of the region. Moreover, the fundamentals of the Helsinki process could be strengthened significantly if international legal structures are supported by real factors of political, economic and military might. Guarantees provided by NATO (WEU) and the Soviet Union would remove East European fears of threats coming from the West and the East. At the same time, the composite might of the East and the West would serve as a guarantee of regional stability, ruling out Balkanization. The Soviet Union would become more confident that NATO would not attempt the painful eastward expansion. The fear that Germany might use its tremendous political and economic weight would be removed. The Soviet Union would avoid the threat of international isolation and the prospect of the formation of one Europe from Brest to Brest that would not involve the USSR. At the same time, a good legal foundation would be provided for the continued formation of common European security structures. In this context, however, the concept of a bloc-free Europe would have to be sacrificed. The sacrifice will not be too great, though, because ironically, in the current conditions a bloc-free Europe can only become a reality if the Soviet Union joins NATO. In this respect accords on mutual guarantees of security could provide new perspectives. As long as the Soviet Union continues to remain the "big unknown quantity" of the European and global political equation, there are no grounds to hope for a new bloc-free Europe.

It goes without saying that the proposed programme of settlement of regional conflicts and strengthening of the Soviet Union's security in Europe will only be possible to implement in the context of this country's continued cooperation with NATO, the European Community and the United States in foreign policy, more radical domestic reforms and a national-state system in the USSR that would rule out the possibility of the repetition of the Vilnius crackdown. Moreover, such cooperation in the sphere of security would become a logical addition to the contemplated large-scale economic cooperation dubbed in the Western press "the grand deal." Is there an alternative? I cannot resist recalling the end of the Crimean War and the death of Czar Nicholas I, who, as Hertzen wittingly put it, "died of Yevpatoria of the lungs." "Vilnius of the liver" does not seem to be a more appealing way to die.

Investments in reforms

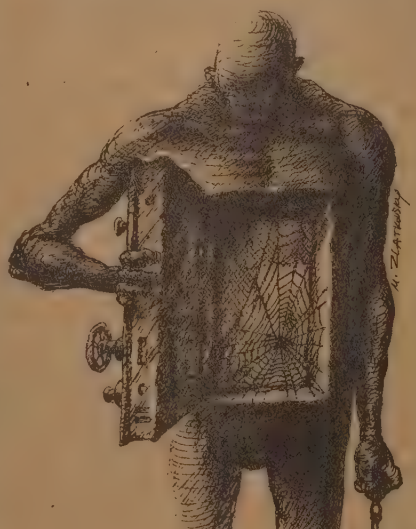
At the meeting of the "seven" in London the main question will be how to involve the West in the reforms in the Soviet Union. There have been many suggestions, but it seems that those which envision direct economic aid are not the best

Are there such investments in reforms which, first, would not require exorbitant expenditures; second, would yield quick results; and third, would be inaccessible to both the gluttonous old bureaucracy and the new predatory businessmen in our country? Such investments in reforms are possible.

What is the main factor for a reform to succeed? Investments? Advanced technologies? No. Brains. We will not make any progress without people who possess a new Western type of mentality. Ahead of us is an unprecedented leap from the epoch of Marxian freedom to the epoch of rational necessity. This leap is greater than almost all reforms in the entire history of Russia and can be compared only with the adoption of Christianity in Russia and Peter the Great's reforms (the baptism of Russia is often interpreted in the purely religious sense, but together with Christianity Russia acquired a new civilization with new concepts of state power, morality, and a new vision of the world). The two great reforms of the past were based on one and the same thing: the introduction of a new culture through the education of people. In either of the two cases the qualitative leap was comparable with what we have to achieve today; the quantitative dimension was smaller and the problem of attracting fresh brains could be solved by inviting people from abroad. But at those times, too, Russians travelled to receive an education abroad – we are very familiar with the activities of Peter the Great who sent the brightest young men to study abroad. The talk about humiliation was naive because there was no source of new skills.

Naturally, in the radically new information context of today new skills can be acquired in this country as well. One must not forget, however, that these skills exist in this country in primitive and ugly forms. Today's "new people" (it looks like Russia's fate is to be looking for "new people" forever) are really skilled when it comes to getting fatter personal profits, be it in the sphere of politics, economy or culture. However, they are sometimes too greedy, too short-sighted, and too dangerous. If they are left out of control, we will have to relive all the negative experiences of Western capitalism, such as wild accumulation of the starting capital with terrible poverty for some and brazen wealth for others, the primitive corrupt political life, and culture crippled for decades. Compared with Western businessmen, today's Soviet "new people" look like a gang of adventurers and confidence men. It is impossible to educate "new people" on domestic soil alone: the Bolsheviks' ploughs have peeled off the fertile layer of decency, morality, and rational thinking.

The logical conclusion is that if the West does not want to confront a gang of enterprising gorillas, it must assume the great mission of furnishing "new people" for Russia. We are always the ones to talk at length about the Lithuanian, Ukranian, Russian and other national ideas, but we are good for nothing when it comes to the construction of a society of civilized citizens. We must learn from the West along all directions, but there are some priority directions, of course. For example, entrepreneurship: how to manage the economy in a rational and civilized way, instead of grabbing more and more money. Education: how to really teach people, instead of loading the brains of children and adults with stupidity and platitudes. Politics: what it means to be a leader, what is the difference between a political leader and the ram leading a flock of sheep. Medicine: how to crawl out of the Middle Ages. These are the four whales of education programmes. Besides, we also need to be trained in such spheres as agricultural techniques, electronics, history, and thousands of other fields.



Drawing by Mikhail Zlatkovsky

In this respect it is vitally important to break free from the vicious circle of the Soviet elite. One look at those who have made their way to study at Western universities is enough to see that the new students' parents belong to the elite, including diplomats, party apparatchiks, trade-union activists, etc., etc. This is sad. And this means that the selection of students to be trained in the West must be carried out strictly on a competitive basis, even with quotas for all regions. The selection must be supervised by Western representatives, not Soviet officials who are always only too willing to help a relative or a friend.

In this case Western spending will also be considerable – at least 50,000 people (the more the better) will have to be trained in the West for two or three years (the longer the better). The roughest calculations suggest that the West will have to spend three to four billion dollars on this programme. It is a modest sum compared with the insatiable appetites of Soviet leaders and it will be much more effective than billions of investments.

That is what Soviet leaders must be asking for now, instead of opening wide their pockets and promising mutually profitable cooperation with Soviet concerns which are only good for pumping pickle juice. Such concerns will not go bankrupt – regardless of whether or not they are independent companies or laundromats for CPSU money, they will never miss a chance to cash in. The education campaign in the West is also fraught with some risk, of course. It is evident that a considerable segment of the people sent to study in the West will never return to this country, it would be naive to believe otherwise. There will be considerable percentage of losses, but any investment is accompanied by losses.

It is better to "lose" people in the West than to waste whole generations here, begging for more and more money for our insatiable old parasites and new predators.

Konstantin Pleshakov

America transformed

The New York of the early nineties is a sorry sight for our "exposers," who are trying to scare us with the horrors of capitalism

Yevgeny RUSAKOV, a new NT correspondent in New York, has gotten down to work there. Born in 1939, he is a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a Master of History. The author of several books, he worked as a correspondent for *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in Japan and as *Pravda* correspondent in the US.

Yevgeny Rusakov

The city of Yellow Devil, which way back before the 1917 revolution had a reputation in Russia as the epitome of the vices and ills of the Western way of life – a filthy city teetering on the brink of the financial abyss in the seventies, has now become more attractive, wealthier and friendlier. Even the Harlem sidewalks are approaching the Moscow ones in cleanliness (or, on the contrary, our capital's streets are becoming as dirty as Harlem's).

Broadway tunes

Willy-nilly, I am comparing today's New York with the New York of the seventies, and this is not a matter of my personal impressions, although they should not be ignored either. The thing is that today's America – prosperous, self-confident and more patriotic than ever since Pearl Harbour is hard to understand without remembering the America of a few decades ago – the America of economic troubles, doubts, pangs of conscience, and lack of self-confidence.

The "roaring" eighties marked a "turning-point." "Perestroika" was accomplished in America, just as in Western Europe and Japan. What's more, America became a locomotive of perestroika in the West.

Following a tradition which is now over a century old, America's transformation is embodied in skyscrapers. The drab pre-war Gothic structures, imitated by our architects of the Stalin-era high-rise "towers," and the elegant but monotonous steel-and-glass "matchboxes" of the sixties and the seventies have given way to edifices of the most surprising colours, materials, and shapes – pink, teak-like, chestnut, emerald-green, red-brick, steel, with wooden inserts, "cakes," trefoils, cones, even terraces with green parks on top – modernistic versions of "Semiramis hanging gardens."

Broadway is becoming a super-modern "fashion plate" before one's very eyes. Until recently it stretched from 42nd St. to 50th Street – a cluster of decrepit dirty-grey or brown houses, stinking strip-tease joints, bordellos camouflaged as massage parlours, porno cinemas and "live sex" shows. The garish neon lights of Times Square covered up this shabbiness a little like trinkets do a streetwalker.

The idea that I'd ever live in the epicentre of the Broadway whirlpool seemed nightmarish. And now the *New Times* office is within a stone's throw of Times Square, amidst new skyscrapers and refurnished theatres. At night, our 35th floor windows command a fantastic view – one gets the impression of being on board a spaceship, among glittering stars. Down below, smartly dressed crowds – nostalgically reminiscent of Moscow's theatrical scene of old – gather near the entrance of Broadway's multitudinous places of entertainment.

I can't say that Broadway excites imagination this season. The palm is given to "off-Broadway" theatres which cater to all tastes, the "specialty" being musicals of all sorts. They sing and dance during the Vietnam war (*Miss Saigon*); on an exotic island (*Once on This Island*); Daisy Eagan, 11, won the Tony prize for the best sing-and-dance performance in *The Secret Garden*; *The Willi Rogers Follies,* the story of the famous pre-war Broadway impressario done in a classical style – with corps-de-ballet and Stars-and-Stripes costumes – was named the best musical of the season.

The revival of Broadway continues, and now the islets of the porno industry, drug addiction, street crime and prostitution are receding ever further into the background under the onslaught of even newer skyscrapers, thousands and tens of thousands of small shops, restaurants, cafes, bars, cafeterias – all those big, middle and, especially, small businesses without which the market economy – even in its embryonic form – is unthinkable. I recall the Tokyo of the sixties, when in the same way, the decrepit wood and grey concrete shanties gave way to glittering glass-plastic-and-neon coffee houses, shops and restaurants. New Japan started with them, not only with Sony and Matsushita Denki.

Our state-monopoly monster does not lose its grip here, either. Vladimir Tikhonov, Chairman of the Joint Union of Cooperatives, told Americans at an annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic council – ASTEC – about the fierce struggle going on today between the moribund but tenacious state monopoly economy and the nascent free enterprise economy which meets with stubborn resistance on the part of the former. The modern American supermarkets, which flabbergast a Soviet citizen by the abundance promised us in the bright Communist future, started with small private stores. Our answers to them –"universams" – capitalist in form and socialist in content – were pitiful parodies on them even in the relatively "abundant" recent years. And now they are the height of absurdity.

The internal transformation of America is now evident in the fact that New Yorkers have become much better tempered, relaxed and epicurean, although they are regarded here as people involved in a desperate rat race, adhering to the "sink or swim" principle. As some New Yorkers say:

if you've made it in New York, you'll make it anywhere.

Life has improved...

What is the ordinary American concerned about most today? Economic slump? Crime? A new world order? Not at all. Cholesterol. Or, to be more exact, about his own state of health. "Some twenty or thirty years ago, when there was no cholesterol yet," wisecracks the comic Bill Cosby to the audience's understanding laughter.

"Healthy food can be tasty," the second biggest food company advertizes its products. The phrase "cholesterol-free" is printed in large letters on packages of flakes, bread and doughnuts. Sodaless soda water and non-alcoholic beer and wine are for sale.

"'Sun-Made' is a tasty and nutritious addition to any diet and is fully consonant with today's active way of life," an ad for California raisins says. It certainly contains no cholesterol, fat, is low in soda, but rich in potassium and other substances useful for the heart, in high-value tissue and hydrocarbons which quickly restore energy. This is not merely an ad for raisins. This is a philosophy.

American swears by youthfulness, high spirits and joy of life, which are regarded as signs of success. Today, a healthy way of life has become a universal craze. Jogging and a lack of respect for "fatsos" came into fashion some fifteen years ago. Now one can see the results of the massive campaign against smoking and drinking: the number of cigarette smokers and even moderate drinkers has decreased markedly. No decrees have been issued to that effect (the Americans have learned from the bitter experience of the "Prohibition"); no vineyards have been uprooted; the supply of cigarettes and liquor remains as abundant as ever (liquor stores are well stocked but empty of customers). Cigarette smokers have been ousted from elevators and airplanes, and are being persistently ousted from work places. A few weeks ago they were hit below the belt in the direct meaning of this expression: scientists have proved that tobacco causes not only lung and stomach cancer, but impotence as well.

It was Jimmy Carter who launched a campaign against "two or three business lunch Martinis." And now a glass of lemon mineral water is all the rage. A fierce campaign is now on against drunken driving (although a can of beer or a glass of wine per hour is permissible here – over this period of time the organism is believed to assimilate this amount of alcohol safely). Inscriptions have appeared on bottles of alcoholic drinks, warning that they are harmful to pregnant women, interfere with driving and may cause damage to health.

Photo by Victor Akhlomov

What delights the orthodox

In New York, there are, of course, sights for our fundamentalists' sore eyes.

Harlem and South Bronx are still full of fire-gutted slums, and millions of black boys and girls still have no hope of getting an education and finding a job. There are as many – if not more – beggars and homeless in New York than in today's Moscow. True, they do not live on sidewalks, as is the case in Calcutta, but they can be seen in Central Park, in subways, and in the streets. Most of them are quiet and unobtrusive, some simply sit on sidewalks apathetically, with a cardboard box in front of them with the inscription: "I have no money and no home. I am hungry." Police do not touch them, and one homeless has even won, in court, the right for people like him to use public libraries regardless of whether or not the subscribers like their outward appearance.

Crime in the city sometimes reaches a level shocking even to the hard-to-surprise New Yorkers: a hundred times more robberies are committed there than in Moscow. Teenage gangs are distinguished by pathological cruelty, and stray bullets kill adults, and still more often, children. Local gangsters call chance victims "mushrooms which can be trampled underfoot without looking." Unfortunately, we are catching up with, and even outstripping the American crime rate: our country has already surpassed the USA in the number of murders per year.

Recently, the tenth anniversary of the 20th century plague has been marked here. Official count is kept from June 5, 1981, when the disease control centre published a short report on five Los Angeles homosexuals – AIDS victims. Over these years, AIDS has claimed over 100,000 American lives, with New York accounting for most virus carriers.

What do America's social ills testify to? They testify to the fact that there are no ideal societies, that paradise, if it exists at all, is to be found in heaven, not on earth. We were only fooled by cock-and-bull stories about the "bright future," where each will have "according to his needs" (even if the needs are a harem and a seaside villa), a future free from passions, vices and disease.

Well, there are harems here, but don't we have "pads" and slums here? As a matter of fact, Harlem kids are clad and fed much better than the children of our quite well-to-do families, and the black ghetto supermarkets would have been the envy of our privileged few.

Many of America's ills are not fatally inevitable for the market-economy countries: there are no Harlems either in Scandinavian countries or in Japan, Austria – even the famous London Docksland is turning into a supermodern technological centre of "information society." These ills are of specifically American character, their roots being deep in the country's history and geography.

New York's black ghettos are punishment for Southern plantation slavery, for the slave-owners' treatment of black families. The institution of the family is still weak, and even the success of the blacks who have "made it" – and there are quite a few of them – weakens the black communities and their moral values still further. Since the last century, New York has been the gate to America for tens of millions of immigrants. There are still many of them, especially those who have sneaked in from the neighbouring countries of Latin America to add to the army of the unemployed and to overburden the municipal social welfare system. The rise in crime has its specific reasons: drug addiction, teenagers, of whom there are now more, and modern automatic weapons which have staged their comeback after Al Capone. The Americans have always valued their right to bear arms, ever since the time of conquering the "wild West," and are not going to give it up. Such is their choice which, however, seems strange and dangerous not only to us alone.

New York is paying a dear price for being a "melting pot" of nations and races unprecedented since the times of Ancient Rome, for its loose morals, for its social contrasts, for its boisterous gaiety and its adject misery.

America has many problems and faces many challenges. These, however, are problems of a different level and of a different time which are our future. For all we can tell, our country may avoid many of the ills of American society and do better in many ways. In the meantime, we should catch up with the times.

Concerning syndromes

On a June day New York was an unforgettable sight. Millions of people crowded narrow Wall Street in order to greet the heroes of Operation Desert Storm. The jubilant crowds chanted "USA!", "USA!" and poured confetti and ticker-tape streamers upon soldiers in uniforms the colour of the Arabian desert. In the old-timers' opinion, that was a more enthusiastic welcome than those accorded in Wall Street's Canyon of Heroes to the fightingmen of the two world wars, to Charles Lindbergh, Van Cliburn and the Apollo astronauts, who had been the first to set foot on the Moon.

All those endless parades, Stars and Stripes displays and hilarious jubilation at an easy, almost bloodless victory over a country which is not the world's strongest militarily might amuse or irritate a side onlooker – or perhaps make him envious (one could hear on our television and read in our papers complaints like, "Our attitude to the army is different, we have no patriotism...") As far as I am concerned, I could understand why the Americans were so happy about that victory. That was not so much a matter of beating the Baghdad dictator. The Arabian deserts are neither the Vietnamese jungle, nor the Afghan mountains, and the Iraqi national guards are no guerrillas, against whom modern weapons are practically of no use. The victory over Saddam Hussein was like the last plum in a huge pudding. It marked the culmination of the effort made to overcome the crisis of society which lasted for 23 years, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome," stagflation and the energy crisis.

Having gone through years and decades of tragedies, suffering, crimes, mistakes, doubts and pangs of conscience, America surely deserves its share of joy, although opinions over the occasion of merry-making may vary.

Hopefully, our day will come, and we shall overcome – or begin to overcome at last – our "post-Bolshevik syndrome," which is much more terrible and much more painful than the "post-Vietnam syndrome."

The serious disease which affected American society cost four presidents their posts, and three of them were never re-elected. Richard Nixon was even impeached. This disease undermined, almost hopelessly, the popular trust in all American institutions, from the army, the CIA and the administration to business and the universities.

Worse came to worst in the spring of 1968, when it finally became clear after the Vietnamese had mounted their "Tet Holiday offensive" that the "light at the end of the tunnel," promised to America, was nothing but a mirage. For the first time after the Civil War between the North and the South, the nation split in two and was swept by unprecedented anti-war demonstrations. Riots broke out in black ghettos. America seemed to have gone crazy, and the situation there looked all too familiar to a Soviet visitor.

I saw the anguished look on the faces of American boys – some trying to "keep their chins up," others melancholy – who had been given a leave of absence and came to Tokyo, where I worked then, to take a week's rest from the jungle war. In Japan, I also saw 100-percent loyal American students who burnt, after a three-day "teach-in," their call-up papers and the very Stars and Stripes all America is now waving in triumph. I saw General Westmorland – lean, athletic and outwardly self-confident – who, asked by Tokyo journalists where the long-promised "light at the end of the tunnel" was, gave them a standard reply: "This is a limited war with limited aims and limited means," but his authoritative voice quavered. In the summer of 1974, I, already in New York, watched along with millions of overwhelmed Americans, congressmen arguing on television over whether President Nixon was a crook, a criminal and a law-breaker. I saw how ashamed Americans felt as they watched a live telecast of their compatriots fleeing from the roof of the US Embassy in Saigon by helicopter. I saw how hard the Americans took the oil crisis and stagflation (a cross between stagnation and inflation now familiar to us, too). "We shall never forget the nightmare of the Great Depression," they said. "And the nation seems to be going to the dogs again. We remember beggars who wore top hats and tuxedoes."

America felt lost, its faith in the "promised land" seemed gone forever.

The long and agonizing climb to the top, with the "Vietnam syndrome" and economic troubles left behind, began way back under Nixon... America ascended to the top step by step, stumbling and even slipping down at times.

NEW YORK

Police and democracy

New Times Special correspondents Alexander PUMPYANSKY and Nikolai RESHETNYAK talk with the minister, whose scalp is wanted on the discussion table

On his visiting card is written the Latin motto "Servamus et Servimus" – we defend and we serve. To remember the meeting our interlocutor gave us a special gift – cufflinks with the ministerial symbol. For some reason, they seemed to call up an association with miniature handcuffs. Adriaan Vlok was not to blame for this, however. The Minister of Law and Order was gracious and well-wishing.

The most difficult thing is to overcome the habit of seeing an enemy

New Times. The key word in your country today, as in ours, is changes. The main question is will it be possible to effect change while observing law and order? This contradiction is difficult to solve logically. These very notions – law and order – have until now existed within the framework of the system, which must be changed.

Adriaan Vlok. We want to abolish the old apartheid laws under which the police were widely used. In the new system police will fulfil their duties adhering to the commonly accepted concepts of maintaining law and order. We are making new laws. But in principle the Roman-Dutch system of laws which we now have will remain unchanged.

We are changing the whole structure of the police force in accordance with the new situation.

At the present time 60 percent of the police are black and only 40 percent are white. The composition of the officers is different, but we want to change it. The security branch was eliminated. We merged the security branch and the criminal police, forming an agency for investigation and the battle against crime.

NT. Does this indicate the depolitization of the police force?

A.V. Just so. The police must be a competent and professional force in the new South Africa. We have forbidden policemen to belong to any political party, we did this through parliament. Many policemen belonged to the Nationalist Party, and they had to withdraw from it. The police are outside of politics. Policemen must be politically neutral. Hundreds of policemen were members of the ANC, and they had to resign. In this way the police will serve the new system.

NT. One may separate oneself from the formal signs of membership in a party...

A.V. Yes, this is the most difficult – changing your views. The police have become accustomed to seeing the ANC as the enemy.

NT. Probably, this is true of both sides. For the people of the ANC the police are the enemy. Is it really true that white police in black settlements are viewed as invaders?

A.V. This is not so. We have no serious problems with white policemen. On the contrary, townships request that we send white policemen to take care of them. They don't want black policemen because they act more severely against their black countrymen. This is a strange phenomenon. We have introduced a special programme for their training.

NT. In times of great change, which are often times of strife, people become nostalgic about the past order. In a totalitarian system there is more order. In our country, for example, the crime rate has jumped, or at least that's what they write.

A.V. It's the same with us. During the state of emergency which I declared earlier it was easier to control violence, you could put people in prison and ban organizations. The results left much to be desired. We have to find a better solution: to change the country's political structure. Today we do not want to ban, to confine to jails. But there is a side effect – the level of crime has jumped. Now it is with us as it is with the whole world. But we are faced with a choice: dictatorship or democracy.

NT. You personally turned out to be in the centre of political strife. The ANC demands your head. They say that without your resignation they won't participate in the multi-party conference which was suggested by President de Klerk. Do you think you will resign?

A.V. The president appointed me, and it is for him to decide if I go. But if I thought that I were

The Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok. Under past presidents Balthazar Vorster and Pieter Willem Botha he was the deputy minister of defence, the minister of law and order. In May the ANC delivered an ultimatum demanding the resignation of Vlok from the post of minister, accusing him of the inability to restore law and order in the townships. President de Klerk rejected their demand.

After forty years of underground activities the South African Communist Party is not inclined to compromises. Its goal, as before, is "to overthrow the racist regime and to effect a national democratic revolution in the country." Joe Slovo, the leader of the SACP, who 56 years ago emigrated to South Africa from Lithuania, criticizes de Klerk's reforms from positions which are further to the left than those held by the ANC

interfering, I myself would resign.

Political violence has existed since 1976. In 1984, when we formed the tricameral parliament, the violence greatly increased.

The main reason for the violence is political, the people want to vote and to be in parliament. For this reason we lifted the ban on organizations, released people from prisons, and now they can participate in politics. Consequently, they must be ready to sit at the conference table. The president has suggested that a meeting be called of all the highest leaders in order to discuss the problem of violence.

NT. Anyway, why is it namely you who has become the object of the ANC's ultimatum?

A.V. I don't know. They hold me responsible because I refused to ban traditional weapons, which are used in confrontations in the black townships. I referred them to the Zulus – such delicate matters must be discussed directly. They accuse the police of resorting to violence, and me of not controlling the police. They say that the police is a "third force." We are trying to find evidence of the "third force," but no evidence exists. The ANC tells people to strike, not to pay rent, and they intimidate. They also want to be sure to have a leading role at the conference table. Inkatha says that it doesn't want the ANC to represent it at the table. The Zulus want to participate in the conference for themselves. All this causes violence.

NT. When may one expect the situation to stabilize?

A.V. We are hurrying. But, speaking realistically, this will require some time. Maybe a year or two. Everything depends on the people who want to seize power and who are ready to fight for it any way they can.

NT. In a situation with reforms there arises the question of tempo – can it be done quickly, risking destabilization, or slowly? Which tempo is to be taken?

A.V. The quickest possible. Our opponents should be in the government, because at present they criticize us from outside. Let them be inside and share the responsibility for the army, the police, and the administration. The sooner the better.

The Conservative Party says: not too fast. I disagree although of course you have to be careful and responsible. This lessens the violence. The problem is to bring about not black power but a balanced power which would not exclude the whites with their know-how and education. We must share the power among all groups instead of introducing a new dictatorship.

NT. Do the whites need to receive any guarantees?

A.V. Look at what happened to the whites in Africa. If South Africa is to survive economically, we need the knowledge of whites and all others: Indians, coloured people, and black minorities.

NT. And what is in the immediate future?

A.V. There is only one path – to stop the violence and get together in order to discuss the political future of South Africa and to rectify our economy.

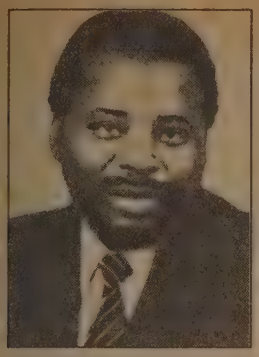
And now from Pretoria, from the well-protected government building, we go to Durban, a city on the Indian Ocean. We are received by a person for whom democracy is an area of study, teaching, and preaching.

Nobody wants the one-party system

New Times. Do you really think that it is possible to learn democracy?

Oscar Dhlomo. We have no other option. We must learn democracy. I think that our parties are not ready for life after apartheid. We have a mission before us – to inculcate democratic values and political tolerance. The leaders are not able to clarify their differing views in a democratic way – they prefer to do it physically. Long years of apartheid have brought about antagonism and hate, but now, with the coming of the new order, we must instil in the minds of people a different idea of the future. We can't do anything without reconciliation. It's time to say, "Let's forget the past." It's true, there are people who are not ready to easily forget injustices done to them in the past. On the other hand, there are people who believe that the coming democracy threatens them, for it will deprive them of their privileges.

NT. You support a multi-party system,



Oscar Dhlomo, Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. He was the general secretary of the Inkatha party. He left the party, he says, because he believes that a person who professionally propagates the principles of a multi-party system must be neutral towards any party, towards any political movement.

whereas many of your neighbours on the continent are leaning towards a one-party system. The logic is simple: it's easier to organize the people that way.

O.D. Yes, it is much easier to control the minds of people, but democracy presupposes varying opinions and convictions. As soon as a one-party system is introduced, the supression of other opinions inevitably begins. People will keep quiet, but only up to a certain point. This won't do even in a family, not to mention a country of thirty million people. A one-party system isn't natural, because it's based on the need to suppress other voices. As the Zulus say, "People are not water, they do not always drop in the same direction." We must have a pluralistic democracy. There must be a multi-party system which defends the nature of the human being.

NT. Can it really be true that no one in South Africa advocates the principles of a one-party system?

O.D. No. Even the leaders of the South African Communist Party support pluralism. Joe Slovo said that communism in Europe suffered defeat because it was communism without democracy. A multi-party system means democracy, that is why they want it. The proposals of the ANC concerning the constitution also mention a multi-party system. The Nationalist Party and Inkatha also advocate this. So does the Pan-Africanist Congress.

NT. You hinted at those people who are afraid of losing their privileges. Are there such people among the black population? Isn't this the reason that they resort to violence?

O.D. In this case it is inappropriate to speak of privileges, as all the blacks are victims of oppression. There are two reasons for the conflicts among the blacks. First, there are differences concerning strategy. They all agree that apartheid should be abolished, but they are not agreed on how it should be done. Some say that apartheid should be done away with by force, so that the oppressed can seize power by force of arms. These people have spent long years in exile. Now they have returned, but they continue to follow their line. Others believe in the possibility of abolishing apartheid through negotiation. Sometimes the differences about the question of strategy have been so great that they appeared more like differenced in goals. Only this can explain the bitterness with which one party of the black population, the ANC, calls the other party of the black population, Inkatha, a puppet of the government, a collaborator.

The Soweto church where Nobel Prize Winner Desmond Tutu, now the Archbishop of Capetown, preached

Photos by authors

The other reason for violence lies in the fact that apartheid is disintegrating, posing the question of who will be in power once apartheid is gone. Even now they are already fighting for power. The battle is waged with the help of Kalashnikov submachine guns, which the ANC received from your country. There are also lances and other traditional weapons to which the Zulus resort – the people of Inkatha.

NT. Who is to blame for this orgy of violence? The leaders who give the commands? Or the process has grown out of control?

O.D. Publicly the leaders say that they do not conduct an armed struggle. But who knows what they say when they are among their own people. But the conflicts happen not between the leaders, but among their followers. A peace treaty was signed between Inkatha and the ANC which contained wonderful stipulations, but it mentioned nothing about which structures for upholding the peace were to be established on the basis of that treaty. The leaders may desire peace, but they do not take responsibility upon themselves for their followers. For example, the leaders of the ANC lay all the blame on the government, and demand that order be restored by the government in Pretoria. It would have been much better if the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha had taken all responsibility on themselves. Together they must investigate who instigates violence. And most important is to guarantee that their followers do not fight each other.

PRETORIA–DURBAN–MOSCOW

NT REFERENCE

● PAC – the Pan-Africanist Congress

The PAC was formed in 1959. After it was banned in 1960, it declared the beginning of an armed struggle against the apartheid regime.

The ban on the activity of the PAC was lifted last year by South African President F. de Klerk. The followers of the PAC, previously in exile, were allowed to return home. PAC organizations, formerly suppressed, are now active in Johannesburg, Durban, and other big cities.

Last December a conference of the PAC was held on the territory of South Africa for the first time in thirty years.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC still rejects the possibility of a dialogue with the government, and takes a radical and extremist position.

● The "Third Force"

According to the ANC, the government has lost control of the South African police, which has become a "third force" opposing both the Pretoria administration and the national liberation movement in Southern Africa. ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela believes that it is namely the "third force" which is responsible for the killings of innocent and unarmed people in the black townships.

Overalls instead of velvet clothes

"I'm not the President-saviour," Václav HAVEL told his compatriots. "I ask you to count on yourselves first of all." The Czechs and Slovaks followed this advice, and they are doing well

Every day I take a batch of newspapers out of my mailbox. Of course, newspapers are not able to reflect life in its entirety and diversity. In Czecho-Slovakia, as in our country, they are politicized. It is difficult to discern the psychology of people, which, in my opinion, is most important for a country extricating itself from the fetters of totalitarianism. Nevertheless, every day I take out of mailbox not simply newspapers, but a picture of the life of society which is abandoning utopian ideas.

Slav brothers should not be offended

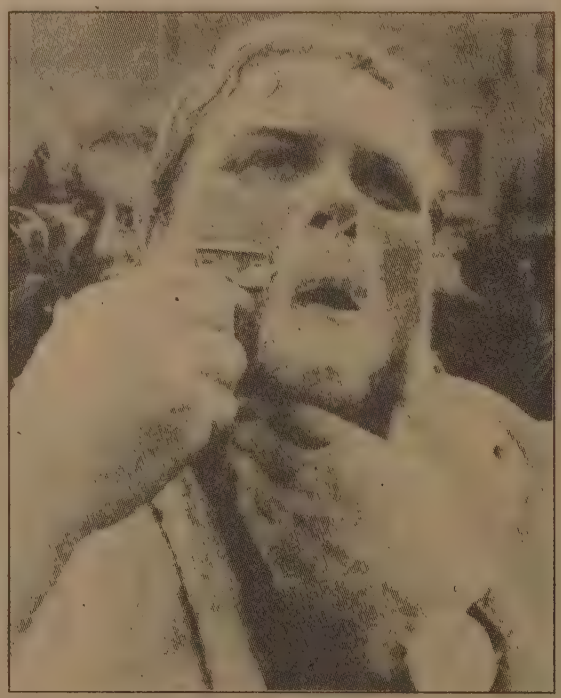
My attention is instantly drawn by headings. "The last Soviet soldiers are on the way home," runs the front-page heading of *Rude pravo*, a former communist and now simply left newspaper. *Mlada fronta dnes* carried the following heading, "Goodbye, general" (the commander of Soviet troops in Czecho-Slovakia). The front-page heading of *Práce* says, "The occupation is over."

Contrary to the widespread style of a light ironical estrangement I want to exclaim: "History itself speaks with us from these newspaper pages. They announce the evacuation of not just our soldiers but of the army which came to Czecho-Slovakia in the memorable, tragic, and shameful year 1968." That is why I am not shocked by the word "occupation". Nor was I convinced by our Defence Minister, who, in an interview with a Czech newspaper, objected to the word "invasion" being used, repeating the old claim that Soviet troops came to Czecho-Slovakia because they had been invited.

I felt sorry for our boys on reading in *Mlada fronta dnes* that citizens of Milovice did not come to say goodbye when the last train of Soviet troops left the railway platform. According to the newspaper, the chairman of the Milovice town council said: "We didn't invite them, and we don't have to see them off." But I can also understand those who, according to the newspapers, uttered with a sigh of relief: "At last, we'll become a sovereign state."

However, many people do not want to realize this fact. A few days ago I heard an opinion which contrasted with the general sentiment. It was expressed by Zhirinovsky, a presidential candidate in the recent elections in Russia. Asked by the Moscow correspondent of *Lidove noviny* what he thought about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East European countries, he said: "You're hurrying and making a mistake. The army is angry. If a coup is staged in our country the army will return by force." After that Zhirinovsky added in a condescending tone: "We love you, Slav brothers." The newspaper ironically used this exclamation in its heading of the interview. Indeed, it is a strange love. The "big brother" complex is deeply ingrained in many of us. It's enough just to read articles about Eastern Europe published by the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. For quite understandable reasons this complex is especially intolerable for the citizens of Czecho-Slovakia.

On the day I began to write this review the Soviet Ambassador presented Orders of the Patriotic War to Czechs and Slovaks who fought against fascism. After the ceremony the grateful war veterans surrounded Ambassador Boris Pankin and one of them, Miroslav Klen, said: "I'm on Soviet territory for the first time since 1968. I was in a German camp together with your prisoners of war. We escaped from the camp and fought jointly. I have many friends in the Soviet Union and I have visited it several times. But when Soviet tanks came in 1968 I vowed that I would never set my foot on Soviet land. Even today I was not sure that I should come to receive the award. However, I read in the morning newspapers that the occupation is over, and so I'm here." The veteran confirmed what many newspapers wrote: "The complete withdrawal of troops opens a new page in our mutual relations." Should we not hurry to do that? The Slovak newspaper *Pravda* carried an interview with Michal Kocáb. I have met this tall man in the Soviet Embassy on several occasions. He is a famous actor, singer, and composer. After the "velvet" revolution in Czecho-Slovakia, Kocáb became chairman of the parliamentary commission for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. "I was one of the few who believed that the evacuation would be carried out within the scheduled time," the newspaper *Pravda* quoted him as saying. "But not even I expected that everything would be done punctually. Many members of our commission did not trust the Soviet representatives at first, but then they changed their attitude." Michal Kocáb suddenly admitted: "I shall also quit together with the last Soviet soldier." A little earlier, in an interview with the magazine *Respekt*, he said that he would like to observe the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldiers. "I'll feel sad," he added, "I've grown accustomed to them."



Twenty-three years ago, in August 1968, this man vowed that he would not shave until Soviet troops left Czecho-Slovakia. Now he can cut off his beard.

Photo from the International Herald Tribuine

People are the same everywhere

if their views are not fossilized by ideological dogmas. "You'll see that the wounds will be healed," Miroslav Klen told me. "Everything will be all right. But not soon. We must have patience."

85 dollars for each worker

Newspapers carried an interview with the Soviet President's senior adviser Alexander Yakovlev, who arrived in Prague for an assembly on European confederation. Speaking at a meeting of the press club in the Embassy and at the Karlova University, he also repeated the word "patience". "Every period has its ups and downs. Patience is needed," he said. Asked by a journalist whether a certain vacuum appeared in contacts between the two countries, especially at a high level, A. Yakovlev explained this by difficulties in the Soviet Union. I thought then: "Our President is extremely busy, of course. He did not even come, as expected, to the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. But it's strange that our writers, scientists, musicians, and especially financiers, economists, and managers, the architects of the reform, so to speak, are not coming here. They're looking more and more at the West. I think they could learn a great deal here – both from mistakes and from achievements, too, because in the past one and a half years Czecho-Slovakia has done what we are beginning to do after six years of marked time, contradictory actions, and convulsive swinging from one side to the other."

Almost every newspaper reports on the beginning of large-scale privatization. Small-scale privatization has long been under way.

Whithin several months about 400 enterprises were sold to private persons in Prague only, and the state received a billion korunas. Walking in the city I notice almost daily a new baker's where you can buy hot rolls right from the oven or a small shop selling glass-ware. Recently an ordinary department store was turned into a splendid supermarket where some food prices are lower than in state-run shops.

The newspaper *Hospodarske noviny* reports on "the first instance of the direct selling of a Czecho-Slovak enterprise to a foreign company, which marked the beginning of large-scale privatization." It is the Rakona plant in the town of Rakovnik. The plant, which manufactures washing machines, urgently needed modernization. However, it did not have the half billion korunas necessary for this purpose. The search for a partner led to contacts with an American company which allocated 20 million dollars for modernization. Under an agreement between the two parties, *Hospodarske noviny* notes, the plant is expected to attain the world level in five years' time and each of its workers will receive 85-dollar shares "which he can sell at the New York Stock Exchange already today". Reading this report in *Hospodarske noviny* I recalled complaints in the Soviet parliament and some periodicals about the sell-out of Russia and the threat to the socialist choice from "capitalist sharks". We are strongly influenced by utopian ideas of every kind, though we should have understood their utter failure, if not felt it in our stomachs.

Newspapers report that the Czech government long ago drew up a detailed schedule of privatization of enterprises. Unfortunately, not all of them will be able to exist until the appointed time. They can simply go bankrupt. The authors of the reform think that it is an inevitable and natural process. Is this opinion accepted by everyone? The newspaper *Rude pravo* carried "a statement of four". The chairmen of several committees of the Federal Assembly (parliament) voiced concern over the course of the economic reform and called for a more exact prognostication of the decisions made by the government. This statement is obviously directed against Finance Minister Klaus, who is considered the father of the reform. Václav Klaus refutes the criticism. The politician and economist, he can perhaps be charged with other faults, but not with lack of firmness. Time will show who is right. Some observers predict increasing social tension. Let me note here that the first three months of 1991 the state budget revenue exceeded expenditures by 15.3 billion korunas. The head of a special mission of the International Monetary Fund pointed out that "the exchange value of the koruna is stable and trust in it is higher than before." There is one more important circumstance. In spite of unemployment and a decline in living standards, not a single considerable strike has been reported. I think this is due to the fact that no one has fed the people with promises. On the contrary, warnings were made that hard times would come. I remember a mass rally held shortly after the election of Václav Havel as President of the republic. Hundreds of people chanted his name. Addressing the crowd, Havel warned: "I'm not the President-saviour. I ask you to count on yourselves first of all."

"People who refuse to accept lies"

In the newspaper *Občansky denik* I read a review of *The Biography of Václav Havel*, a book written by Eda Kriseová. It is not a profound academic study of the life of a dissident who became president, the reviewer notes. Nevertheless, the author showed how by reading Havel's plays "the Czech public came to realize the meaning of the utopian idea and, finally, its ruin." The utopian idea has exhausted itself. This is not only the conclusion of playwrights. It is borne out by the course of events. But as distinct from the Czech public, we Soviet people make it out much slower.

In Havel's play *Protest* one of its characters, Vanek, in whom the author's biographical features can be discerned, is told by his antagonist: "We exist only to keep our mouths shut and have a relatively quiet life for our silence while you exist to speak on our behalf and get kicks in reward during your life and glory in heaven..." Fame came to Havel during his life.

Receiving an award in Copenhagen a short while ago, Havel assessed fame in a peculiar way: "I find myself on the threshold of the world of the communist elite whom I have exposed all my life." His speech was devoted to the insidious nature of power, to politics which "requires the presence of the moral feeling to the greatest possible degree", to politics as an occupation of "people who refuse to accept lies." Havel finished his speech in the following way: "I do not know whether I belong to such people. I only know that I ought to be such a man if I agreed to take my post."

The speech was amazing not only because of Havel's sincerity but also because of his sober view of himself. It seems that his first biographer was not able to take a sober view of things. In any case, *Obcansky denik* writes that Eda Kriseová's book is "a product of the euphoria of the first months after the revolution." The euphoria is fading. Is it a loss or a gain? The newspaper *Lidove noviny* held a round table discussion on this subject. One of the participants noted that in his opinion the poetical image, "the velvet revolution", does not seem appropriate for defining a serious social phenomenon, at least for today, he added. "Velvet clothes are usually worn on holidays," he said. "The revolution and the building of democracy require that people wear overalls."

Some of us journalists often wrote about the "velvet" with malicious joy, saying that it was actually emery, that it was rough and had prickles on it. How was it determined? The revolution has simply changed velvet clothes for overalls. True, the overalls bear stains which could have been avoided. One of these "stains" is the demand of some members of parliament that the government publish the lists of all persons who collaborated with the state security bodies. Premier Marian Čalfa disapproved of this idea in an interview with one of the newspapers. This reminded me of the famous open letter of Lydia Chukovskaya, who, back in 1968, urged the intellectuals not to call for vengeance. Overalls have been put on by people who, breaking with the utopian idea and euphoria, are steadily erecting a new building. This is what I concluded on reading local newspapers, though I understand that life is more complex and diverse than its depiction in newspaper articles.

Inna Rudenko
our own corresponden
PRAGUE

GULAG CASTES

Right 'uns, peasants, goats and roosters

Valery Abramkin,
Head, Centre for the Promotion
of a More Humane Penitentiary System

Valentina Chesnokova,
Centre sociological researcher

Vladimir Kupriyanov,
picture credits

From an interview with Victor Yanenko

(Born in Kiev, 1953. College educated. Framed in 1980-81 as real reason for arrest was attempt to secure emigration permit. Arrested anew January 6, 1983. Sentenced for "anti-Soviet agitation" to seven years in a high security prison colony plus five years internal exile. Released in 1987. Currently residing in USA.)

I landed in Kiev's one and only criminal Lukianovka jail in August 1980. With me in the cell were some twenty or so first-timers who though without Gulag experience, already had their own "elite." They were ordinary lads, perhaps psychologically better girded for the jail regime, as they were more resolute and more adaptable. They set the tune as to where who should sleep and how to divide parcels from home if any. Relationships were normal. Newcomers were "indoctrinated" by practical jokes including even penalties for mistakes but with no viciousness.

An interrogation jail cell serves to prepare an inmate for the Gulag. Thus one is told not to use obscenities, as they are considered the worst of insults in a prison camp, since they are taken literally. In jail one begins to realize that the Russian obscenity is not just an emotional interjection, inasmuch as each obscenity can be understood literally. Any breaking of this or other taboos immediately invoked sanctions consisting of several blows struck at the backside with a damp towel weighted with several dominoes. I must say nobody had any particular objection. Cellmates, as is usual for any group need a guiding hand, order, organization.

As for minors, they invent a whole plethora of appallingly absurd self-restrictions to which they blindly adhere, as I have had occasion to see for myself. Adults as a rule, proceed from the premise that restrictions be rational. For instance, it was forbidden at meals to urinate, defecate, or otherwise use the bucket of night soil. There were stiff penalties for peaching and pilfering. At best, anyone caught filching could expect a thorough hiding. On the other hand, the offender might be "dipped" or otherwise sexually abused. There were no "dipped" among our cellmates, though according to what oldtimers said there had been such cases.

Already in the Gulag, I was told by "roosters" or the "dipped" how this happened. As far as I know there are two main groups. One consists of those who were passive gays even before they landed in jail, the other of the weak-willed, inasmuch as now and again a prisoner might be "dipped" for conflicting with the cell "elite."

The prisoner might be gang-raped or sexually abused by some deceitful means. Thus when he would be about to fall asleep, a cellmate would brush his member across the prisoner's lips, in plain view of everyone. Or he might have a towel dipped into sperm drawn across his face again in plain view. As far as I know these procedures are the more common and after them the convict in question is declared "dipped."

In the Ukraine such a prisoner is known primarily as a "rooster." The "rooster's" status is comparable to that of the untouchable in India. It is "granted" for life, for the present and all subsequent prison terms if any. True, now and again a "rooster" might land in another camp where he is unknown and will keep mum; but as a rule, he is eventually exposed and is beaten up most cruelly for having been treated as an equal having thus defiled normal convicts.

The Gulag has its own code of conduct with respect to the "dipped." Every newcomer is necessarily notified of the concept, with its accompanying status, rules and bans.

The "rooster" is allotted a bunk closest to the door to thus reduce contact with other convicts most of whom feel a superstitious fear and revulsion, afraid of being "infected." Gulag camps necessarily have four categories of convicts: the "right 'uns," or the "elite," the "peasants," the "goats," and the "roosters." The "right 'uns" get the "peasants" to definitely fear breaking all taboos concerning the "roosters."

A "rooster's" lot is extremely tough: indeed, I was simply amazed to see how they bore up under it. In our

Gulag camp at any rate none committed suicide. I forgot to say that one can voluntarily become a "rooster," which occurs, for instance, when due to an unfortunate chain of circumstances a convict finds himself unable to repay a debt by the deadline, for which he might be cruelly beaten up or even killed. In such cases he may save himself from reprisals, by taking his mat at night to a "rooster" bunk if any room is available. Next morning his mates will discover him on a "rooster" bunk. As it is not the custom to beat up a "rooster," the debtor in question thus saves his life, only to become worse than insolvent as it is absolutely forbidden to take anything from a "rooster." He may be thrown or given something, but nothing can be taken from him and he cannot barter, as the traffic in valuables, food and other things is one way only, from a normal guy to a "rooster," not the other way round.

These rules are kept particularly rigidly in the ordinary penal colony, where convicts are far more afraid of violating rules than in a high-security colony. "Roosters" are also fed separately: when a troop, usually of some 150 convicts, marches in for the midday meal, the "roosters" tag along behind. In the canteen "roosters" from the different troops are seated at one table. Then the "run-arounds," that is the gofers in each troop whose task it is to lay and clear away tables, dump the food on the "roosters'" table. The gofers are unofficially permitted to communicate within a definite limit with the "roosters," as it is impossible to preclude all contact. I must say though that the argument as to how far such contact can go raged for long.

Take, for instance, a case when the "roosters" in one of the huts are subsequently either released or transferred. Their bunks stay unoccupied for quite some time. According to camp rules these bunks must be dismantled and laid up in storage. The issue of whether these bunks preserve the "smell" of the "rooster" after storage is most important. After all, they may subsequently be allotted to other convicts, even "right 'uns," the keepers of the traditions. So the "right 'uns" meet in council and rule that "the iron" is safe; only then can the bunks in question be "safely" re-used.

> For the "right 'un" to be barred from meeting relatives or buying things at the camp store is the ultimate sign of distinction

In our camp whenever a convict accidentally dropped his "iron" spoon in the canteen, the article was considered contaminated and not for reuse at all, except by a "rooster." Incidentally, this was how "roosters" settled material issues, because whenever a convict let something drop, only they could pick it up.

Most "roosters" were terribly filthy and bedraggled, some because they were made that way, others out of dire necessity as elementary hygiene comprised a terrific problem. "Roosters" were allowed in the bathhouse only in a mass on some definite day, when no other convicts were there. Even camp movement was a problem. For instance, a "rooster" might be climbing up to the first floor and spot an ordinary convict coming down. In that case, he had to cringe in a corner and wait until the other convict had passed by, taking full care not to touch him. Though true accidental touching was not considered a major violation, nevertheless it could indicate some untidiness or negligence on the part of the normal convict, who had thus allowed contact with an untouchable. Hence, if the convict thought the "rooster" was not keeping to the rule, he would kick him, as a kick was not against rules. Many indeed held that to use fists was demeaning, as it implied contact, whereas kicking was perfectly permissible.

There is a whole list of jobs in camp which only "roosters" and "contacted" may perform, for instance that of helping the nightman pumping the faeces out of the toilets. Indeed, anyone letting the hose into the cesspit and bringing it up was already considered "contacted." Incidentally, our camp greatly discriminated between "rooster" and "contacted." The "rooster" was a passive gay, the "contacted" a convict discharging an untouchable's job but not a passive gay, for which reason he was considered a step above the "rooster."

From time to time the "right 'uns" would have sex with "roosters." Now and again I ridiculed them saying telling that medically a passive gay was the same as an active gay. They furiously retorted that in their eyes the active gay was a real he-man, whereas the passive gay was a "rooster." The medical books I gave disgusted them; they would say that these books were not for such "noble" minds as theirs.

Now and again a "right 'un" with a privileged lower corner bunk would bring a "rooster" to his cot, treat him and, compensating him for future "services," go with him to the airing closet, possibly the only secluded enough spot for gay sex.

The "peasants" regarded this with a mixture of horror and awe: no "peasant" could have sex with a "rooster" unless a "right 'un" desired to "treat"

him to a "rooster." This was not counted defilement but rather the "right 'uns'" sacred duty and right. On the other hand, the "peasants" avoided all contact with a "rooster," the more so sex.

Now and again younger warders sought to demolish this system of relationships by equating "roosters" with the others. Thus say, on a Sunday, when the warder in question was designated the officer in duty, he might order the "roosters" to take their meals at the common table. In response all convicts would stage a hunger strike compelling the warder to give in, as this would blot his own record.

The camp governors want to abolish this way of things but the "right 'uns" are against. Why so? Firstly, the rules, which the "right 'uns" seek to unswervingly observe; according to them they must not do any work at all, for which they are often penalized by confinement to the camp punishment block. Those held in its cells are mostly "right 'uns." Indeed, deprivation of meetings with relatives, of buying things in camp stores, is seen as a decoration as worthy as the "For Valour" Medal is for a fighting man. On the other hand, whenever a

"Get-togethers," reminiscent of Political Bureau meetings of 5-10 years ago, were held in secret from the "peasants"

"right 'un" is allowed to meet a relative, this is castigated by his "colleagues," as they consider him not a real "right 'un," once he has not been deprived of everything.

A basic function for the "right 'uns" is to mediate between convicts. For instance, "peasants" may conflict because of unpaid debts, or other claims. Somebody must mediate, but to appeal to the screws is absolutely out of question as they are the convict's worst enemies. Instead, they appeal to the "elite" who decide the issue. The usual penalty is a beating up whenever the prisoner thus summoned disagrees. But if he admits that he was in the wrong and discharges his obligations, violation of which had caused the conflict, everything is settled peacefully.

The "right 'uns" also control the camp's black market prices, mostly on commodities, chiefly tea and cigarettes, coming in from outside, or prison garb, boots and the like filched from the stores. Anyone violating these prices, buyer or seller, is beaten up. Stealing, excessive prices are grievous offences, but peaching is worst. When I was in camp one stoolpigeon was exposed, moreover, from among the "elite," which disconcerted everyone, especially the "peasants" who had revered him. Generally speaking, it was rather hazy how he had come to this general type of colony, as he had a whole string of convictions which he claimed had been revoked. Moreover his entire body was covered with tattooes. For some eighteen months he had been the top "right 'un." He was exposed in the punishment block, where he was "dipped."

The "right 'uns" sometimes held their own closed get-togethers, with decision taking somewhat reminiscent of Political Bureau meetings of 5-10 years ago. The "peasants" were only notified of the final decision. Incidentally, they "were quite happy with this arrangement as the "right 'uns" shouldered the entire responsibility for abiding by the camp laws. This made life for the "peasants" much easier. In effect, the "right 'uns" protected them

which cost them dearly as they, the "right 'uns," were confined to the punishment block all the time. What did they gain in exchange? Prestige and a sense of dignity, which one will agree, is not that little.

Comment

One of the most amazing discoveries made in researching convict subculture is that it assumed its present form quite recently, in the early 1960s. Thus, one will not find mention of so complex a socio-cultural phenomenon as the untouchable caste in the writings of either Solzhenitsyn or Shalamov. True, homosexualism was current in jails and camps evidently from the very outset. However, the "roosters" and the "contacted" that Yanenko mentions together with all related bans, customs, traditions, and rituals characteristic of the early phases of social evolution are a socio-cultural, not physiological, phenomenon. Incidentally, the proportion of passive gays amid the "dipped" is not so great as some writings on camp topics try to make out. In some of the colonies studied it does not exceed 20 percent. As an institution, the "dipped" appeared unexpectedly between 1961 and 1965 and almost at once – implying the speed with which socio-cultural transformations of this kind penetrate – proliferated throughout the entire Gulag from Baltic to Pacific. Indeed, towards the close of the 1960s we found only a few colonies untouched by this new "system." Concluding, one might qualify this as only one of the enigmatic developments in that world which is behind barbed wire.

Watch our next issue for Crimean Tatar leader Reshat Djemilev's story of how the Gulag cripples its inmates.

A job abroad

"Grant" exports manpower

Aware of the fact that practically all leading industrial countries have thousands or millions of jobless people, Soviets still seek employment abroad. They have chances to find work there. This is the opinion of Oleg Buzo, Director of the Bureau for Advice on Job Placement and Employment Abroad of the "Grant" Soviet-German joint venture. So far it is the only commercial organization in the Soviet Union whose business is to export manpower.

Last summer "Grant" opened a "manpower" data bank to cater to 1,000,000 subscribers and 300,000 clients. The bank has been set up with the aid of "The Sons of the Fatherland" International Association of Business and Cultural Cooperation (whose members are enterpreneurs from Federal Germany, the United States, Canada, France, Spain, and Finland, all of Russian origin) and several international trade and industrial associations which represent tens of thousands of firms in various countries.

Within a month after the publication of the advertisement about possible employment in other countries, "Grant's" data bank got thousands of forms filled in by interested people of practically all trades and professions. The received data were systematized in Moscow and sent to the International Organization of Employers as well as to the governments and local agencies of many countries. In two months the first answers began coming in. According to Oleg Buzo, the US states of Iowa and South Dakota have sent 2.5–cm. thick lists of firms interested in Soviet manpower. The Government of Australia has informed "Grant" that their country wants computer experts, transport engineers, car mechanics, and drivers. Many countries have informed "Grant" about their shortage of agricultural workers. They want hands for dangerous trades, in the oil and gas industries.

The wish of foreign firms to employ people from the USSR, in spite of the unlimited choice of cheap manpower in the Third World, is unexpected. In the opinion of Oleg Buzo, this interest has been evoked by the modesty of Soviet people in everyday life, their preparedness to the content with very little, their not being accustomed to demanding wage increases, their avoidance of politics, and, last but not least, many common features in culture. Many foreign companies even consider Soviet certificates of degree valid in any field but those with the latest computer equipment, prestigeous clinics, or government institutions. Oleg Buzo suggests that those who want to go abroad in search of happiness should not forget about the millions of small and medium-sized firms. "It is easier to find a common language and to come to an agreement with them. They are more willing to meet you half-way, and their demands are not as exacting as those of major ones," he noted.

If the situation is favourable for Soviet manpower on the Western market why mark time? Why turn to "Grant" for help? Unfortunately, life is not that easy. The long process of the official registration of papers and long queues for tickets are not the whole problem. "Grant" can help get the necessary documents, the exit visa and tickets (even for foreign currency, if necessary) and can help fill in the numerous forms. And this is not the only mission of the advice bureau on job placement. The main problem is connected with the nonconvertible Soviet rouble. A penniless person cannot go to a Western country. Such a person should enlist the aid of some recognized institution which will act as a guarantor, which will be ready to pay a fine, if necessary, for a broken computer or other equipment, and to protect the person's rights if a contract is violated. In the past comparatively few Soviet people were lucky enough to go abroad on business. Their guarantors were the ministries who sent them. Today practically everyone is permitted to go to other countries. And "Grant" legally backs a new worker for a Western firm. (Eventually that worker pays all the expenses for his going abroad himself.)

"Grant" is a commercial firm. It is very particular in selecting people before tak-

People crowded at the German Embassy in Moscow, in the hope of finding a job abroad

ing 75 rubles from each of them and putting information about him in its bank. Buzo notes that "Grant" gains more from someone's going to work abroad than from keeping his data in its electronic bank. By the terms of contracts with Soviet people working for foreign firms those firms do not pay part of taxes to their local budgets, but send that money to "Grant".

By "Grant"'s statistics, two out of every three Soviet people who want to go abroad agree to any work in any country. The "Grant" people believe, however, that it is better for such persons not to dart away at all. "We cannot work wonders," they say, "foreign companies do not just want to fill their vacancies. They have a choice not only from among Soviet people. Therefore someone **should have a strong wish** to go to a certain country and **should convince of this not only 'Grant,' but also his potential employer.**" He or she should speak the language of that country, should be ready to adapt to local conditions and should be an experienced professional, with at least 2 years experience in his field. The age is of no real importance. As to health, "Grant" believes in the good sense of people here.

In addition, one's awards, decorations, inventions or innovations, hobbies, including membership in sports clubs or other institutions of this kind are important. Sometimes one's connections with some sports or other club is of decisive importance, particularly in English-speaking countries.

Life has shown that, all things being equal, out of the persons eager to have a job in Argentina preference might be given to those whose mother's name is Maria. Australian authorities are interested in people who can drive motor vehicles. They ask to note, in the forms, previous jobs (with the annual earnings), one's post and the number of subordinates. In Federal Germany, builders have more chance of getting a job. Many countries need computer and software experts, as well as labour force for production lines and dangerous trades. By the estimates of Western countries, the Persian Gulf area has 2,500,000 vacancies. "However," Buzo noted with regret, "the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR urges Soviet citizens not to go to that region."

Practically every country has a shortage of long-distance drivers. Buzo suggests that each competitor for the job should learn at least the minimum traffic regulations of the country where he wants to go, prior to his offering his services to transport agencies and forwarding firms. International traffic regulations are used all over the world, but by the owners of personal cars. If a motor vehicle carries the goods of some firm, the latter should be sure that they will be safe and delivered on time and that the driver will be able to give any explanations to the highway police if necessary. For instance, if a driver is stopped on some US highway, he should not remove his hands from the wheel, reaching for his driving licence, or perform any other action which can be interpreted by a policeman as a preparation for an attack.

In Europe, one will be treated more politely, but the consequences might be more serious. A fine for a dirty motor vehicle will increase indirect proportion to the amount of arguing between the driver and the policeman or also if the driver refuses to pay the fine.

The Director of the Advice Bureau did

Going... going...

Emigration from the USSR in 1990

Country	Number of emigrants	Including children under the age of 18
Israel	267,900	70,865
Federal Germany	138,800	48,300
Greece	23,800	7,400
The United States	13,100	3,000
Canada	1,212	275
Finland	609	100
Sweden	173	28
France	139	79
Italy	117	23
Spain	108	11
Austria	58	13
Great Britain	53	2
Turkey	39	11
Denmark	18	1
The Netherlands	18	5
Norway	18	5
Switzerland	15	3
Cyprus	7	3
Belgium	3	0
Portugal	2	1

Comments by Rudolf Kuznetsov, Head of the Visa, Permit and Passport Administration of the USSR Ministry of Interior

For the first five months of 1991, the Soviet Visa and Registration Office permitted 138,242 people to leave the USSR for permanent residence abroad. In comparison with the same period of 1990, this year 8.9 percent fewer people have applied for visas, and almost five times more of those who had already received permission to go abroad have refused to get documents to leave the USSR (1,512 people). The Administration refused to give passports for travelling abroad to less than 300 people, or some 0.5 percent of those who had asked for them.

An analysis of the situation has shown the following.

During the five months of 1991, 69,200 people left for Israel, that is 17 percent less than during the same period of 1990. 1,467 persons changed their mind about emigrating to Israel after all their exit documents were ready. One can unerringly guess the reason. People had learnt that a bill on entry and exit would be enacted before long, and they would no longer need an invitation from close relations. To all appearances, they had planned to go to another country through Israel. Now, if they still want to leave the USSR, they will turn directly to the embassies of the appropriate countries.

53,200 people left for Federal Germany, 7 percent more than for the same period of 1990. A marked growth in outflow can be expected. Formerly many Soviet citizens of German origin could not leave, because they had no close relations in Germany. This is no hindrance any longer. For instance, since the beginning of the year exit visas have not been given to 107 people who do not have near relations in Federal Germany, although they said they did. Beginning with July 1, all of them can leave the USSR.

9,300 people got permission to go to the United States, which is 2.7 times more than for the same period of 1990. For unknown reasons, 10 of them have abandoned their plans. Perhaps they have not received US visas.

Three times less people (4,000) now want to settle in Greece, probably because of the worsened economic situation there. Eventually, the number of emigrants and the dynamics of emigration to various places of the world will depend on economic considerations. In the meantime, former data can hardly be suitable for forecasting, because the outpouring often diminishes or increases depending on political circumstances.

not mention the number of professionals who had left the USSR for other countries with the help of "Grant." He said that it was confidential information and that an indispensable rule of "Grant" was to keep all talks secret. According to him, foreign firms show greater interest in qualified workers, but, actually, are more willing to employ engineers with degrees. In his opinion, this is so because of the better command of foreign languages which people with a university education have. Furthermore, an engineer with a university education is never employed as an unskilled worker, and a turner or a metalworker is never given an unskilled job. A person is employed according to his profession or trade learned through education or practical experience, which should be properly certified in his documents.

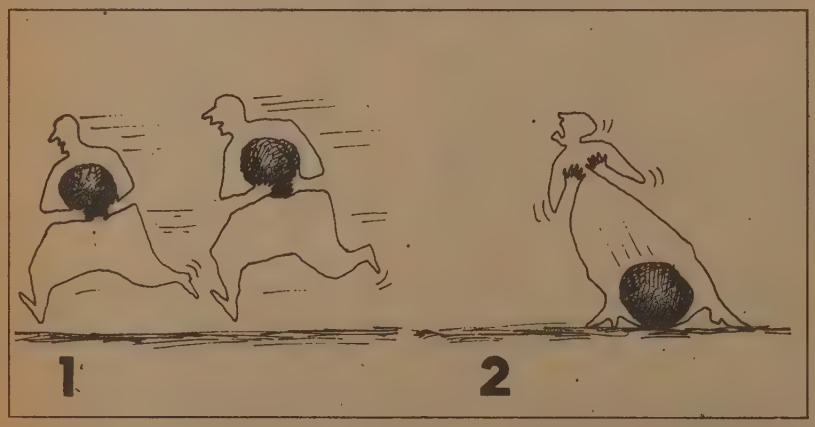
Of course, those who have already worked abroad are given preference.

A retrieval from the computer memory is carried out in turn. If someone wants to get a job quicker, he might be allowed to look for a job himself. He is given a dozen addresses of well-known firms which want working people of his profession or trade. The result depends on him.

"When you begin looking for a job abroad," Buzo said, "you are first of all to give up the habit of many people who hope for some kind person to take care of them. On the market, everyone carves his way himself. Of course, 'Grant' will give you the addresses of some firms. It will help you fill in the necessary forms, will translate them into a foreign language (for an extra payment) and will mail or transmit them by fax. It will change information about you in the computer (free of charge) if you have succeeded in learning some foreign language or one more trade or profession. But 'Grant' can't work wonders. No one but you can write a firm a letter and tell about yourself so as to evoke the interest of an employer. If you go abroad at an invitation, don't waste time: look for a job there. If you find it, I don't suppose anyone will enter into a contract with you right away. A foreign firm needs guarantees. And 'Grant' will give guarantees to you."

Konstantin Isakov

"Grant" address: *Exhibition of Economic Achievements of the USSR, Pavilion "Elektrifikatsia" tel. 187-45-47*



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

A change of life stimulates human potential

Life in a foreign country makes an emigrant work harder still

Valentin Petrushin

Though a law on free travel has not yet been passed, newspapers are already carrying articles, trying to discourage people from emigrating. People wishing to go abroad are told that with their low qualifications and without the knowledge of a foreign language they will be redundant there. So they are advised to stay at home because a person feels more comfortable in his home environment. Indeed, is it worth emigrating and breaking ties with the native land?

The situation is clear when a person firmly decides to leave because he can no longer endure the absurdities of life here. But is it worth going if you feel good at home and if, in spite of many deficiencies, you are attached to your country, home, and friends? Enough is as good as a feast. Let us examine this problem from the standpoint of modern psychology. At first, we shall take a little excursion into the theory of psychoanalysis.

The word "incest" was introduced into psychoanalysis thanks to the works of Freud, who used the term in the explanation of the Oedipus complex. In Freud's opinion, this neurotic complex is one of the main reasons for most personality disorders. Incest is sexual relations or interbreeding between closely related individuals. All peoples of the world regard it as taboo. Incestuous ties quickly brought about unfavourable genetic changes in heredity, as a result of which a family and then a clan could perish. In the famous ancient Greek myth, king Oedipus, who unwittingly married his mother, was cruelly punished by the gods.

Taking a broader view of the problem, we shall see that incest virtually means the desire of man, often unconscious, to remain with his family, together with his parents, who provide shelter, comfort, and food for him. The observations of psychologists and psychiatrists show that a person firmly attached to his family will never be able to become truly adult, capable of bearing full responsibility for his fate. He can grow fully mature only by breaking his incestuous psychological ties.

In the process of social revolution, the noted psychologist and sociologist Erich Fromm points out, the tribe, nation, race, state, class, political party and many other institutional forms and organizations become the family and close relatives for a person. In his opinion, a person can develop his intelligence and rational judgements more effectively if he overcomes his incestuous relationship and becomes completely independent. In this lies the psychological, not biological meaning of the taboo of incest. Only by cutting the imbiblical cord which links a man to his family and home and by building his own home can he become an independent person. In the Gospel according to Matthew, we read the following dictum by Christ: "I have come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law." Thus, as Christ says, a person should rupture his incestuous ties to become free and independent.

Marginal status

Marginal status is the notion used by social psychologists to describe the condition of a person as if staying between two social worlds – a village who moved to town, a man who emigrated to another country, and a specialist who found himself in an unusual professional environment. The condition of such people is sometimes characterized by the following proverb, "Falling behind crows, they joined peahens."

The psychological condition of marginals is very complicated. Unless they acquire the desired social status, they will experience the painful feeling of inferiority and inner dissatisfaction. Not infrequent among them are cases of suicide and the desire to drown their bitter experience in wine or narcotics.

On the other hand, we can see a different picture. To get into the desired world, a marginal develops frantic activity and works in a way he would not have expected for himself.

The new situation, new demands, and the new human environment induce profound changes in endocrine functions. Medical research shows that rats and dogs reared in conditions of strong impressions have a more developed cortex and a larger volume of the brain. A human being is not a rat or dog, of course. However, the physiological laws of living beings are, on the whole, common for all. Freud explained the greater creative productivity of marginals as compensation for their psychological vulnerability in the new environment. The recognition won by hard work reduces the anxiety of a marginal. However, he never manages to get rid of his complexes completely.

The United States is a land of immigrants, and its successes can be explained not only by favourable external conditions and a reasonably framed constitution, but also by internal psychological factors of which marginality was not the last. This is born out indirectly by a comparison of incomes of immigrants and natives. The Soviet immigrants, who came to the United States in the 1970s, have an average annual income of around $34,000, while an ordinary native American of about $22,000.

New circumstances induce the brain and endocrine system of a person to generate so-called endorphynies which bring man inspiration and admiration of life. The creative and even sexual potential of many people is heightened in this situation. No wonder doctors advice many elderly people who have lived in a monotonous situation for a long time to change their way of life in order to stimulate the inner potentials of the organism. Christian and Moslem pilgrimage has not only a religious, but also a profound psychophysiological basis. A person who makes a long journey becomes qualitatively new not so much because he visited sacred places. He acquires a new quality because of a change of environment and the trials of long and hard travel.

That is why the society which hampers the travel of its citizens abroad by raising barriers of every kind will lag behind the society which allows its citizens to travel freely. I foresee objections – there is no currency, no passports, etc. But, as the Bible says, whoever has, to him shall be given and whoever has not, from him shall be taken away even that he has. The logic of development is such that the rich often grow richer and the poor poorer still. This is what awaits us.

Drawing by Arkady Gursky

An indisputable fact has long been noted in the history of science and culture: most of the discoveries which advanced social progress have been made by emigrants and repatriates. I could mention here Oscar Wild, Bernard Shaw and James Joyce, of Irish origin, but British in spirit, Hemingway, an American who lived in Cuba, Orwell, a British writer who disclosed the essence of a totalitarian society (he came from an Anglo-Indian family and lived for many years in Burma). The postwar industrial and scientific progress of America was brought about by a galaxy of outstanding scientists who emigrated from Europe during the fascist rule there.

Many great Russian writers, artists and composers lived abroad for many years. Among them were Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Gogol, Bunin, Tchaikovsky, Glinka, and Prokofiev. The psychological stimuli of creative work in a new environment played a considerable part in their long stay abroad. The claims of Soviet propaganda during the Brezhnev period that an artist who leaves his country is doomed to creative impotence prove wrong at close examination.

Life abroad is not the only factor which can provide stimuli for creative work. A whole group of Soviet writers (Shukshin, Rasputin, Astafiev, Belov and others) came to town from the provinces, and their psychological status in a new environment greatly helped them to achieve fame.

Talents go abroad

A pearl is a dense concretion formed by deposition of thin layers of nacre on a foreign particle within a mollusk. In this sense thousands of our compatriots who go abroad can be likened to foreign particles which get into a new social shell and begin to develop pearls for those who provided shelter for them. Rich countries thus become richer. Of course, some emigrants will not bring fame to themselves or their new mother country, robbing it by swindles and machinations. Not a few, however, will taste the joy of the long-awaited triumph of self-realization.

True, happiness may be different abroad. At a definite stage of satisfaction of material needs the possession of long-desired things does not bring the joy expected by man. Psychologists in our country and abroad can name the cases of hundreds of their patients who live in material prosperity, but do not feel happy. One fine day many of the emigrants will realize with bitterness that their removal to another, richer country did not make them much happier.

Secondly, whether we like it or not, the transitional period in our own country leads all of us to a marginal status. The mythic advantages of the "socialist way of life" burst like soap-bubbles and evaporate. The former idols have been thrown from their pedestals. The state no longer guarantees decent housing, work, education and medical care for each member of society. The "give and secure" principle is giving way to the "earn and buy" one. We are changing from the power of armchair bureaucrats to the power of practical leaders, from external compulsion to inner motivation, from spontaneous desires to sober-minded calculation.

In a democratic society, man is the architect of his own fortune. Everyone will have to work hard to support himself and his family, to start a business, take land on lease or a construction project under a contract. Many will find it difficult for themselves to think, strain their nerves, take risks and consider ways out of a difficult situation. But this is what real life means. War veterans, Olympic champions, fliers, geologists, doctors and many other people now on a "deserved rest," as they say, usually remember crucial moments in their lives connected with the exertion of all their physical and spiritual forces, when they were at the top and sensed the breath of victory, but not a tasty dish or the purchase of a new suit. That is why, I think, it is better to experience the marginal status at home than far away from the mother country.

Most emigrants leave their roots in their native land. Three or five years later many of them will decide to return. We have to think today of how to provide conditions for receiving those who have gained experience abroad and can push social progress forward.

Let us hope that the emigrants returning home will be met not by officials who regard everyone as a class enemy, but by a kind father, who will ensure his children the freedom which is essential for the building of a decent life. ■

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

In our libraries, at least in most, those volumes of the Russian edition of Thomas Mann's collected works, that provide a small translated part of his journalistic effort, essays and correspondence are hardly touched. Thomas Mann is well nigh a household name in this country, esteemed mostly though as an eminent novelist, who largely set the tune for the development of 20th century world literature. On the other hand, little is known, regrettably, of his journalistic, political thought. What is known to the Soviet readership is mostly from his novels. For instance, the story of Leverkühn the "sounds maker" or his brilliantly fictionalized political pamphlet *Mario and the Magician* (do not be embarrassed by the term **pamphlet** which in Russian is for some reason demeaning, though the genre itself is superb having served to bring out the two great, English and American, democratic revolutions). Small wonder it was recollected recently by a colleague, when describing the hustings involving some of the Russian Federation presidential candidates – for which see our issue No. 25/91. Democracy, as securing to us the free expression of will, requires a high degree of responsibility. After all, elections may enable a demagogue or a tyrant to usurp power, hence a vote cast without due responsibility may prove fatal.

Totalitarianism's danger derives from its seeking to make everyone accomplice and confederate. This is an evil that sleeps in everyone; as one philosopher observed, it also has its own aesthetics, which is why it is so tempting at times.

This is the point Thomas Mann stresses in his sketch *Brother Hitler*, which was written in 1938 on the eve of WWII. Though with a premonition of this grand nightmarish cataclysm, its basic point is the reminder it serves of the constantly attendant temptation to succumb to evil due either to human foibles, brute fright, moral deficiency or the enchantment of the "flowers of evil." Everyone must be aware of his demon and prove able to discern the demon that strives to dominate society.

Immediately after the end of the war, our compatriot, the writer and philosopher Boris Khazanov reminds us, Thomas Mann uttered his famous *Germany and the Germans,* in which he said that there were no two Germanies, one good and the other evil, as they coexist. May we add that neither are there two Russias, as for that matter every empire is ruptured by dichotomy. In the final analysis, it all depends on the human being, on his free volition, his moral choice. After all, Abel was slain by his own blood brother.

In the USSR, *Brother Hitler* is published for the first time. It recalls that "eternal oppositionist" Thomas Mann, who though having his temptations never succumbed to the lure of conformism.

Brother Hitler

Thomas Mann (1875-1955)

If not for the horrifying sacrifices this person's inner man invariably demands, if not for the ensuing immense moral devastation, one could easily confess that this phenomenon is of captivating interest. There is nothing one can do, we are bound to analyze it.

One must necessarily analyze this ominous figure designed to produce a crude impact and amplify the policy or rather craft once chosen, mostly as we know out of the complete inability to do anything else. All the worse for us, all the more shameful for today's helpless Europe, which he has bewitched and where he is allowed to act the supreme arbiter, the conqueror of everything. Due to the concatenation of fantastically fortunate, or rather unfortunate, circumstances, there appears to be no grist that would not be lent to his mill, as he is wafted along, from one victory over nothing, over general non-resistance to another.

Merely to agree to that, merely to acknowledge the sad facts is already almost tantamount to moral self-castigation.

One has to force oneself, which also conceals the imposition of immorality, as then there would be less room for hate. Indeed, today all whose conscience feels responsible in one way or another for the destinies of civilization must hate. Hate... yes, as for myself, I can say that I have enough of it. I sincerely want for this phenomenon to be cast out of society with shame and as soon as possible, for which, however, one can scarcely hope, considering this man's deft caution. Still, I feel this is not my best hour when I hate this perfidious, yet contemptible creature. I think happier and more worthy of the human being are those minutes, when the need for liberty, a judgement not cramped by limitations, in short irony, which I have learned to appreciate as an inalienable characteristic of every inspired creativity and art, defeats hate. Love and hate are powerful emotions; however, we are not used to thinking powerful that manifestation, when love and hate are most peculiarly urged by interest. Thus, underestimated is the moral quality of interest. Associated with interest are disciplining passions, the humourous and ascetic inclination to cognition, identification and solidarity, in short, everything that I regard as morally superior to hate.

This chap is a catastrophe – yet that still does not imply his character and lot are devoid of interest. To trace the train of circumstances when that hidden hurt, festering deeply vengeful in a person who is an intolerable nonentity, who has sustained more than one defeat, who is pathologically incapable of work, a chronic doss-house resident, a third-grade repudiated painter, a hopeless outcast from life, combines with the inferiority complex (far less justifiable) of a defeated nation, unable to draw the correct and proper conclusions from defeat and thinking exclusively of the restoration of its "honour";

how come he, who has never learned anything, who has never wanted to learn anything out of some hazy but obstinate arrogance, who has no knacks and is physically debilitated, who does not know how to do anything a real man can: ride a horse, drive a car or plane, or even make a child, how come he has managed to rear in himself the one and only thing required for this combination, to wit the most inferior eloquence that acts on the masses, that tool specially adapted to hysteria and sundry farcicality with which he pours salt on the wounds of the nation, compelling it by claptrap to feel for its affronted grandeur, bamboozles it with promises, and converts its wounded national sentiment into a means for his own exaltation, the ascent to fabulous heights, unlimited authority, appalling gratification, supergratification, to such glory and such horrific holiness that anyone ever guilty of some insignificant unknown trifle is now a child of death, moreover of death most horrible and demeaning, is now a spawn of hell.

How come from national greatness this figure has assumed European scope, how come he learns to use the same inventions, the same hysterically shouted lies, the same resistance-paralyzing appeals to sentiment, that enabled him to become a national factor, on a still wider scale; what a past master he has shown himself to be, by exploiting the inertia of entire continent, its fear of crisis and playing on its fear of war, how well he knows how to appeal to nations over the heads of their government and attract so many to his side; how docilely fortune humbles itself before him, how mutelessly walls fall before him, how come this once boring sloth, for the reason that he mastered politics, supposedly out of love for his country, plans, it appears, to seize Europe and perchance, the entire world!

This is all truly unprecedented, novel of amazing scope. It is impossible to watch this phenomenon without a certain mixture of admiration and repugnance.

Here the scheme of fabulous tales emerge (with the motivation of distortion and degradation playing an instrumental role in today's European life): notably, the theme of Hans the Dreamer, who is rewarded with the fair princess and an entire kingdom, of the "ugly duckling" that transforms into a swan, of the Sleeping Beauty, the Brunhilde, around whom fires turn into a wall of roses as she smiles, awakened by the kiss of the hero Siegfried. "Germany, awaken!" That is repulsive, but such are the facts. Added is the "Jew in the crown of thorns" and whatever else that may be extracted from the nation's depths along with a shameful pathology. This is a degenerate Wagnerianism – so long familiar, so easily explicable, although rather impermissible reverence with which a political magician treats Europe's artistic seducer, a person whom yet Gottfried Keller styled "barber and charlatan."

Artistry... I mentioned moral self-castigation, but surely we must willy-nilly admit that in this phenomenon we meet up with one of the manifestations of artistry. In some shameful fashion we have everything here – a "thorny character," sloth, the pitiful uncertainty of a creature incapable of maturing, perdition, the impossibility of understanding what one, essentially speaking, wants, the idiotic blank existence amidst the very dregs of the social and moral riffraff, the rejection, essentially arrogant, essentially out of conviction that one is born for better things, of all rational worthy activity. For what reason, though?

A hazy premonition of designation for something completely indefinite, that would actually make people laugh, plus a dirty conscience, a feeling of blame, of spite with the entire world, a revolutionary instinct, a subconscious accumulation of explosive desire to wreak vengeance for self and to compensate self, and further, ever present, never departing urge to justify oneself, to prove something, the desire to rule and subdue, the dream to see the world shudder in fear and bubble with love, veneration and shame at the feet of the erstwhile pariah...

It is not worthwhile when noting the speed with which these lusts are realized, to conclude how great and how deeply concealed that hidden secret merit afflicted by a shameful awareness that one is but puppet, to note that incredible exertion of the subconscious generating the "creation" of so dashing and so spiteful a style. For an **al fresco** style, a historical style of great scope is characteristic not of the individual, but of the environment, of the type of activity that influences events and peoples: politics and demagogy; with thunder and lightning at the price of great sacrifice they operate with nations and the destinies of the millions; their outer pomposity by no means testifies to the extraordinary merits of the soul of our hero, of the significance of this hysteric who so energetically strives for effect.

What is better, more honest, merrier and more productive than hate is the ability to perceive evil in self and thus defeat it and discard this burden

However, he also has the insatiable craving for compensation, for self-exaltation, plus anxiety, an ever-present dissatisfaction with what is achieved, the need to continuously whip up self-confidence, an inner emptiness and boredom, a sense of one's own nonentity – until comes the time to conceive something and cause the world to hold its breath – in short, an inner never slumbering compulsion to again and again assert himself.

Brother... It is not so much of a pleasure to have so shameful a brother; he plays on our nerves, and we seek to distance ourselves as far as possible from such kin.

Yet I do not seek to close my eyes to this kinship as once again it would be better, more honest, merrier and more productive than hate to take cognition of self, to be willing to join self with what is deserving of hate, be it even pregnant with the moral danger of unlearning to say No. This does not frighten me; generally speaking, morality, inasmuch as cramping the naive spontaneity of life, is by no means mandatory for the artist.

Not only vexation, but assurance stems from the thought that despite all the knowledge, enlightenment, analysis and achievement of the science of man, all that bears upon the action, events and most impressive projections of the unconscious on reality always remain possible on this earth, the more so given the crudity to which today's Europe has consciously and voluntarily succumbed – even though the desire to succumb to this process, the vicious attacks against the spirit and the heights it has attained are in effect themselves the best argument against crudity.

There is no doubt that crudity in its arrogant opposition to

time and the level of civilization, that crudity as a "world outlook," even should this outlook be viewed as "rectification" of spirituality and opposition to "dessicating intellectuality," incorporates something shameful, which the *Old Testament* termed repugnant and stupid. The artist as the ironic advocate of life, can only turn away in revulsion from this spiteful, insincere reversion to the past. But recently I saw a film showing the ritual dances of the inhabitants of the island of Bali which terminated in the terrifying convulsions of debilitated youths.

Where the difference between this custom and what is taking place at the mass political rallies in the various countries of Europe? There is none, or rather there is, to wit the difference between the exotic and the highly unappetizing.

I was very green when in my play, *Fiorenza,* I repudiated the power of beauty and culture through the mouth of a monk obsessed with socio-religious fanaticism, who enunciates "the wonder of revived naturalness." In *Death in Venice,* there is a certain degree of rejection of the refined psychology of the epoch, something of the new decisiveness and simplification of the soul, for which, true, I prepared a tragic finale.

I did not at all hold aloof from the attractions and enticements of my time, from what was wanted and had to come, from those ambitions which twenty years later degenerated into the vociferous importunateness and runaway unbridledness of the mob.

When generally speaking of a genius, we have something good in mind. But there also exist evil geniuses, and we must learn to understand the extent to which they are born of our own spirit

Ought anyone marvel that I no longer sought to have anything in common with this, as soon as it relinquished all political justification, descended to the tastes of punks and spread at a level with which only the professors and literary flunkeys of antispirituality enamoured of crudity did not feel disgusted. This can only crush every desire to feel awe for the sources of life. It must be hated.

But what this hate compared to the hate with which the creditor of the unconscious treats spirit and cognition? How a person of this order will detest thought and analysis!

I strongly suspect that the fury with which he sought to march into that well-known capital was really directed against the venerable analyst who lived there, that genuine, real enemy, the philosopher, exposing neuroses, who knows everything and who has so aptly described even a "genius" (Sigmund Freud is meant. – **Ed.**).

I ask myself whether the superstitions usually surrounding the concept of "genius" are still that strong to prevent our friend from being called a genius? Why not, if that can give him pleasure? Anyone with spiritual requirements will try to learn the bitter truth about himself as perseveringly as asses thirst for the flattering truth.

If madness combined with rationality is genius (and that is a **definition**!), then this man is a genius. One may agree without reservation, as genius is a quality, not a degree of merit, insofar as it is manifested at the most diverse spiritual and human levels; even at the very bottom it reveals symptoms and produces actions justifying the overall definition of him as genius. I leave the question open as to whether human history has ever witnessed such a "genius" at so low a moral and spiritual level, yet invested with such magnetic power as that man, whom we watch with such overwhelming amazement.

At any rate, I do not wish our concept of genius generally as of a great man to suffer because of this phenomenon. True, for the most part a genius was an aesthetic phenomenon and only rarely displayed moral grandeur; for whenever he transcended the limitations to which the human race is constricted, he evoked horror and terror, which inspite of everything he caused the human race to suffer, was that of happiness. Yet we must not forget the difference, as it is incommensurate.

I feel anger when I hear it said today: "Now we know that Napoleon, too, was quite the dullard!" That indeed is to spill out the child with the bathwater. It is nonsensical to equate the two names. The great soldier with the great coward and blackmailer. It is absurd to put this name side by side with that of a coward and blackmailer, who acts supposedly for peace, but whose role was played out on the very first day of this war. It is absurd to equate a man whom Hegel termed "the world spirit on horseback," a gigantic all-possessive mind, the personification of revolution, a freedom-bringing tyrant, whose image like the classic Mediterranean sculptures is forever imprinted on the memory of mankind, with a sinister idler, who really does not know how to do anything, a "dreamer" of the most inferior grade, a witless hater of social revolution, a hypocritical sadist and inhuman liar hiding behind the mask of a "sensitive soul," though he really craves naught but vengeance.

I have mentioned the misrepresentation of concepts characteristic of Europe. True enough, our time has managed to disfigure so many things: the national idea, the myth of socialism, the philosophy of life, the realm of the irrational, faith, youth, revolution, etc, etc. Now it has presented us with the caricature of a great man.

Nothing is left to us but to reconcile ourselves to our historical destiny of being contemporary with a genius at **such** a level with **such** possibilities for self-revelation.

Yet solidarity and cognition are an expression of an art of such self-contempt, which in the final analysis would not want to be understood literally.

I believe, moreover I am convinced, that a new future is drawing nigh, a future that will despise spiritually uncontrolled art as black magic, as the witless, irresponsible offspring of instinct, with as much power as the times of human weakness like ours stand petrified in astonishment before it.

Though art is not only light and spirit, it at the same time is not a muddy concoction, a blind offspring of Telluric Hades, not only "life." The artistry of the future will realize and reveal itself in a clearer and happier way than before as more enlightened magic: like the winged Hermes, that favourite of the Moon, will it mediate between spirit and life. Of itself is mediation spirit.

The foregoing text is presented by courtesy of the editors of the Munich-based journal *Strana i Mir*

The newly opened Moscow office of the Jewish Agency Sokhnut has expanded still further the already vast field of activity of the retired Israeli General **Uzi Narkiss** who is now heading the Agency's information department (which is equivalent in Israel to a ministerial post).

Narkiss was born in Jerusalem and took part in the 1948 war. He received his first combat award for participation in the operation code-named "The night of bridges" when the members of the underground organization managed to blow up 19 bridges thus hampering the advance of the British army. Narkiss became famous in his own country after he and his detachment liberated Jerusalem during the 1967 Six-Day War. Fearing the destruction of the Moslem, Christian, and Jewish shrines in the Eternal City, he ordered that the city be seized without the use of artillery and tanks.

Narkiss headed the operations department of the Israeli General Staff and served as a military attaché in Paris, Brussels, the Hague and Bern. The general's military career ended in 1968. After his resignation he took the post of the Director General of the Department of Immigration and Absorption of the Jewish Agency. The work there has turned out to be no less intense than in the military: in 1970 large groups of Jews from the Soviet Union began to arrive in Israel.

Having lived for a few years in a Kibbutz, a commune in which residents live a self-sufficient life, Narkiss has become an ardent adherent of such a way of life, connecting with it the future prosperity of his country. Narkiss supports the idea that the migrants from the USSR should settle and work precisely in the Kibbutz.

The retired general is optimistic about the prospects for development of Jewish education and dissemination of true information about Israel in the USSR. "Joint teach-ins, the teaching of Hebrew and exchange of information between our countries will bring the Jewish population of the Soviet Union closer to the Middle Eastern roots of the people," says Narkiss.

G.Ariyevich

They will find your ancestors

The 40-year-old Candidate of Sciences, **Vyacheslav Pleskunov**, has become the general director of the society with limited resposibility AROS (an abbreviation from the Russian "Archives of Russia"). The chairman of the Board of AROS is the former director of the Special Archive and now the deputy chairman of the Russian Committee on Archives, Anatoly Prokopenko.

"AROS will act as a mediator between a customer in need of archive investigation and the archives," says Pleskunov. "On completion of the work we shall transfer to the archive-executor the sum that it will charge for its work, and all the profit will be distributed among the indigent archives. The AROS stuff will also carry on research."

In addition, AROS will put out monthly working notebooks: *The Russian Exchanges*, *The Russian Banks*, and *The Russian Fairs* consisting of archive documents.

"For example, our new exchanges," explains Pleskunov, "as a rule copy Western exchanges. And we shall offer for acquaintance and use information on statutes, organizational patterns, and functioning of Russian exchanges prior to 1917 and in the first years after the revolution."

AROS is planning to have a small press run: for example, only 200 sets about the exchanges for the 200 exchanges that exist today in the country. The series about banking, though, can be offered not only to commercial banks, but also to state banks that in the near future will have to engage in commerce.

AROS will hold commercial exhibitions, produce somewhat unusual albums with photographs and portraits of Russian merchants and the discription of their activity and the turnover of their firms.

Genealogical research promises to be the most profitable, if not the main business.

"In all foreign archives genealogical research accounts for 70 to 80 percent of their activity," explains Pleskunov. "But in the USSR such research has not been practiced and there is no single data bank."

By way of example, Pleskunov cites the case of Mormons from the state of Utah, USA: they have organized their own service of genealogical research with the network of bureaus all over the world, including Africa and Australia. Trying to update their data bank, Mormons also contacted the Soviet Union: they are interested in archive schedules, census records, registers of births of the Orthodox churches, lists of recruits, confessional registers and any other information about the population of old Russia.

Pleskunov foresees extensive cooperation with America where, according to certain data, almost one man out of four has Russian roots. AROS has already helped Australians, Germans, and Poles to find their ancestors. The services of the society have been used by the Israelis-Soviet emigrants who wanted to prove their Jewish extraction.

"We have recently confirmed for Tel Aviv that the sect of subbotniks did exist in Russia: they converted from Christianity to Judaism."

According to the wish of the customer, they provide the discription of the ancestor's appearance (if his photo has not been preserved), his hobbies and his way of life.

The address of the society: 26 Berezhkovskaya Naberezhnaya,
Moscow, 121035, USSR.
Telephones: 240-30-75, 240-33-22
Fax: 200-42-05

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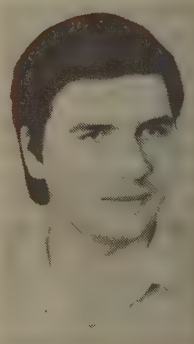


Mikhail Moskalev, 30, Director of the Information Centre of Humanitarian Research, maintains that he is in a position to help the press, which is faced with growing competition and decreasing circulations.

The centre has already been in existence for three years and is engaged in sociological research and marketing.

Unlike other similar organizations, the centre from the very beginning rejected the idea of using temporary stall when a group of scientists comes in already having their commission and fulfills it itself with the organization providing only the "roof over their heads." In the centre they count only on their own employees who first of all forecast the requirements of the market.

As the prices for paper are going up, more and more publications are coming into existence, and newspaper and magazine editors are racking their brains over how to retain their readers, the Information Centre of Humanitarian Research can already offer some investigations that can solve that problem.

Mikhail Moskalev is a graduate of the Russian State Humanitarian University (the former History and Archives Institute), and before he became the head of the Information Centre he worked as variety show impressario and television journalist.

* * *

Among the performers in the charity concert for the benefit of people with leprosy in Seoul (part of the earnings will also go to Soviet patients – see *NT* No.23, 26/91) was our countrywoman **Nelli Lee.**

Nelli Lee graduated from the Leningrad conservatoire and is now teaching and performing in concerts. Her repertoire includes the most diverse music: from old music to ultra-modern music by Alfred Schnittke and Edison Denisov. In 1988 she took part in the cultural programme of the Seoul Olympic Games after which she was invited to teach at the Music Faculty of Seoul University.

Nelli Lee was invited to take part in the charity concert by its organizer Father Alexander. The singer has also been engaged in charitable activities in her native country, although not always succesfully. For example, she proposed that the All-Union Musical Society open a special account for aged artists.

"We have very many older people in this country who have no means of subsistence. My teacher, who devoted her entire life to art, has become blind. Her pension is simply nothing to write home about. But the state doesn't give a damn about such people."

Having received at first an enthusiastic welcome in the musical society, in the long run Nelli Lee's proposal has remained unrealized. But the singer has, after all, sung her charity concerts. She is also singing without being paid for it in South Korea – for example, at Seoul's poorest church.

"I have listened here to the sermons of priests, met Father Alexander and have made friends with him. I was very impressed by the way he treated people with leprosy. In South Korea they have a very special attitude towards the Church and Christianity.

A charity concert for the benefit of children who have suffered from the Chernobyl accident will soon take place in Seoul. Among its participants will be Nelli Lee.

"I want to redeem my country at least in some way for the fact that in 1983 it shot down a South Korean passanger plane. This country has not deemed it neccessary to apologize. Well, I shall try to do that for it.

Druzhba Narodov (Friendship of Peoples) without stereotypes

Alexander Rudenko-Desnyak has become the first editor-in-chief in the 50-year history of the literary journal *Druzhba Narodov* who was elected to this post by the editorial collective. Before that he was the first deputy and was engaged in literary criticism and social and political journalism. Three years ago he put aside his own writings and began in earnest to translate from the Ukrainian (receiving from it special pleasure), helping the Russian reader to discover the beautiful prose by Mikola Khvylevoy and Vladimir Vinnichenko.

Rudenko-Desnyak was born in Chernigov into the family of a teacher and a writer. When he graduated from the Department of Journalism of Moscow State University it seemed to him that that profession could turn over the world. "But then I gradually cooled down, came to myself, and took a great interest in literary criticism," says the writer. He thinks that in the dissemination of spiritual values one should be not so much a fighter as a missionary. He sees the meaning of life in the revival of the culture of the people. The journal's editor proposes giving up old stereotypes and taxing a fresh look at Peter the Great and Mazepa, Makhno, and General Vlasov.

The ethnic question continues to be the key issue in the *DN's* social and political journalism.

"Until recently everything boiled down to the question: who was the first to begin?" says the first deputy editor-in-chief of *DN,* Yuri Kaleschuk. "But no one has yet raised the question: who will be the first to stop? It is time to break away from class, clan, and regional ideals."

Yuri Kaleschuk studied at Riga University and worked in a number of youth newspapers: the Lettish *Sovietskaya Molodiozh* and the Kazakh *Molodoi Tselinnik.* He was a sailor in the Norwegian Sea and for about three years has been travelling all over Western Siberia as a correspondent for the magazine *Smena* (The Rising Generation).

"The euphoria of publishing previously banned literature in millions of copies has ended," thinks Yuri. In his view, *DN* must now count on writers investigating the modern world. Under the journal they are setting up a Public Institute for the Investigation of Interethnic Relations which will publish the research papers of sociologists.

George Carey, 55, the former Bishop of Bath and Wales has been appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury – the head of the Anglican Church.

When he was ordained into the new order, Carey had already emphasized that in the future, too, the Anglican Church would not sidestep political and social questions. "No Church can or should keep silent when the freedom, honour, and dignity of man are being flouted," said the Archbishop. Carey paid special attention to the fate of Iraqi refugees.

But it was not only the political part of Carey's statement that was unusual. The fathers of the Church were also struck by the new style of service: Carey spoke to the accompaniment of synthesizer and saxophone.

Carey thinks that the policy of the Church should be more flexible and up-to-date. For example, he came out in favour of ordaining women.

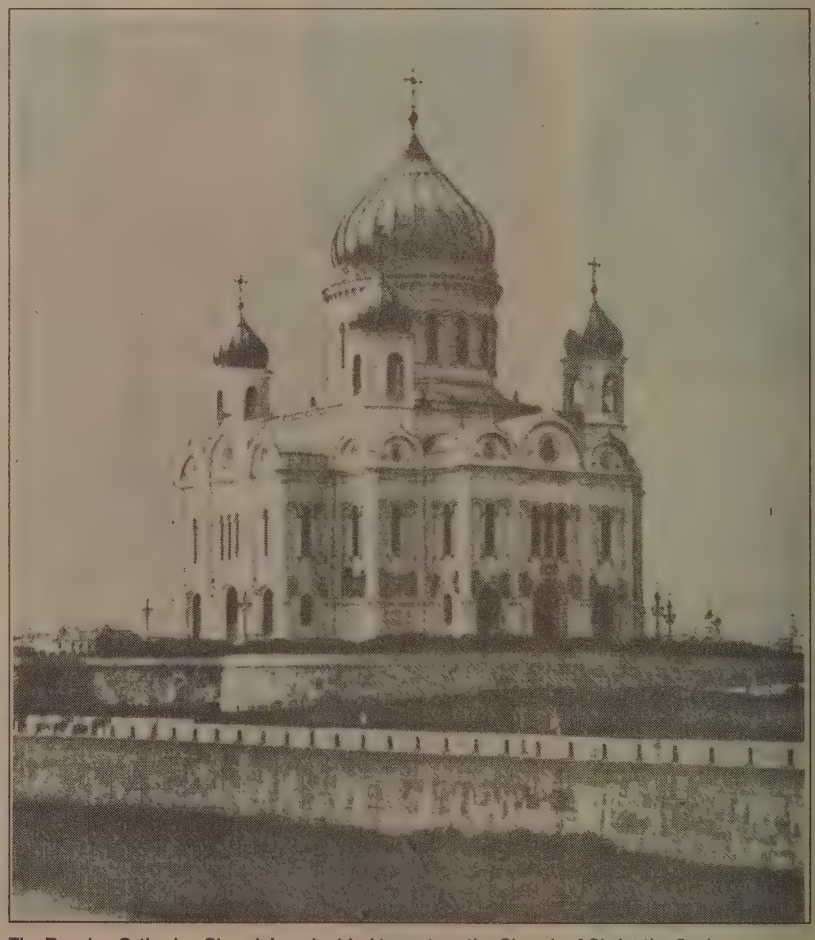
"My house will be called a house of prayer"

Russia's believers want their churches back. But what if a church has been converted into a museum?

The fate of old Russian churches is now a hot topical conversation among our ideologists and museum workers. Some are worried in earnest by "intellectual extremism," by calls to "pay off our debts to the Russian Church" and, consequently, by an obvious encroachment on "culture." Others are outraged by the very idea of the church reclaiming all of its property. "Aren't most Soviet people non-religious?" they argue. And besides, won't this amount to violence against the adherents of other faiths, to their excommunication from culture? Won't this kindle ethnic feuds? Weightier arguments were offered. Obviously, the cultures created in our country by Russian Orthodox believers , Moslems and Jews cannot bear the common label of "Soviet" forever. Nor can they be cured of their current disorders simultaneously and by identical Stalin-Brezhnev methods.

Russian church culture has gone through seven decades of ideological therapy and class surgery. Millions of icons and books have been destroyed, and millions of believers have perished. The wounds inflicted on this culture by tortures and wars are now almost indistinguishable. After six years of intensive "perestroika" care, it has at last begun to show signs of life. But the relevant statistics, even though approximate, resemble a report on casualties. Among the Russian Federation's historical cultural monuments there are only 18,000-20,000 church buildings, of which 4,800 are under state protection and only 900 have been handed over to believers. 25 out of 45 thousand churches have been irretrievably lost; out of 950 monasteries about two thirds have more or less survived, of which 380 have been placed under state protection for their historical and architectural value, and only 30 perform their religious functions. There are nearly 3,500 Russian Orthodox parishes in the Republic today, a quarter of parish churches hold divine services in peasant log-cabins and old garages. It looks as if for the Russian Orthodox Church the catacomb period is not yet over, and the Church, enslaved by the bureaucratic state, is still separated from its cultural heritage and from the life of society.

Had it been possible to preserve Russian church architecture simply by registering the churches and placing them under state protection, everything would have been just fine. Actually, eight of the "registered and protected" churches are used as warehouses, about 600 have been handed over to "cultural and educational institutions," 300 house factories, and others have been converted into gyms, stores, kindergartens and even bar-and-



The Russian Orthodox Church has decided to restore the Church of Christ the Savior

grills. 1,200 church buildings stand empty and are in a state of neglect. And to think of all the unregistered, abandoned and dilapidated Russian churches living out their last years amidst dead villages, out in the backwoods. In five or seven years it will already be impossible to save the masterpieces of wooden architecture of the North and Siberia...

Over the past three years, a number of churches on the territory of the Russian Federation have been returned to believers. But most of these churches are empty and in an awful state of disrepair. The Russian Orthodox Church does not have the money to bring this "necropolis" back to life, it is staggering under the burden of many problems. This is why believers ask that the churches still retaining their original appearance be returned to them. Even the Nechernozemye, Russia's poorest region, pleads with the centre to open a church there rather than to improve food supply. There is no place in which to read the burial service for the dead...

The present conflict, which costs society rather dearly, can be traced back all the way to the early sixties, when about 10,000 Russian Orthodox churches were closed in the "Khrushchev thaw" epoch, and wherever possible, converted into "cultural and educational institutions." Those very churches had been reclaimed by the people in the war years. By 1947, about 18,000 churches were reopened – a figure practically unknown to the public until recently. It is these churches that the current conflict is all about: left almost unscathed by the "cultural revolution," they were made into hundreds of provincial museums. Some of these museums exist only on paper. Others are indeed fine local-lore and folk art museums for which village churches are cramped quarters. They should be saved along with their expositions and attendants, real patriots of their local culture by whose efforts the museums were created.

So what is to be done? There are several viewpoints and several answers to this question. The first one reflects the bureaucratic philosophy of the stagnation period: believers should be given back nothing but worthless junk. Fortunately, this principle is rapidly receding into the past along with the shabby "museums of religion and atheism" invariably arranged in church buildings.

Another school of thought is a populist one. Its proponents reject the ideological dogmas outright, but at the same time readily discard the burden of culture as well. They vigorously insist that all the churches be handed over to believers and demand an immediate requisitioning of all valuable church treasures from the state.

Most of the museum workers somehow connected with church heritage are of the opinion that the state ought to keep most of the valuables, restore them, and keep them in museums for posterity. The church and society should only help collect these relics of culture. This principle looks very attractive, but somehow one finds it hard to believe in the radiant future of culture, the cause of which is supposed to be served by Soviet power plus the museumification of the whole country.

Fortunately, this is not the predominant viewpoint. A search for ways to achieve cooperation between the church and state cultural institutions began a few years ago. However, the catastrophic situation calls for urgent decisions on the part of the state. Within the framework of the new Soviet law on the freedom of conscience, the church has been granted legal rights and guaranteed democratic freedoms. Obviously, however, it should be given more favourable treatment in the economic and social spheres, especially in Russia with its specific problems. For instance, the state would be well-advised to stop levying a tax on church income which devours 38 percent of it – a practice non-existent in civilized countries.

Within the framework of the Russian Federation's law on property, a special resolution could be adopted on the church's rights to all the urban and rural territories it owned before the revolution, in which church buildings were once pulled down. Some of these territories remain tracts of wasteland, and others are taken up by makeshift structures... It pays, perhaps, to restore the church's right to the ownership of all the "museum pieces" once confiscated by the state, or at least to endorse this right de jure for the whole of the Russian Orthodox Church. This will help protect objects of religious worship from their continued, even though unintentional, debasement, and to preserve the integrity of church culture. It was recorded in deeds of confiscation that since 1918 the state merely accepted those objects for safekeeping. When will this safekeeping period end? Incidentally, the return to the church of all that belonged to it will never run counter to our deeply rooted "socialist property" mentality. After all, the very notion of collective, people's property originated exactly in the church, in early Christian communities. In Russia, the property of the convents and monasteries was always regarded as common. In his *Dictionary of the Russian Language,* Vladimir Dahl quoted the following proverb: "Monasteries' wealth is the poor people's wealth."

What would the state's relations with the church be like following the handover to the latter of not only ordinary church buildings, but of the major museums as well? Here is one of the likely patterns. First, both sides should agree on the timetable and procedure for returning the church buildings. Second, the state should continue to bear the responsibility for preserving the property it hands over, which after reverting to the church remains national cultural property. Third, the state reserves the function of exercising expert control over the monuments' restoration and use – neither side is likely to object to that. To begin with, it is necessary to hand over the altars of museum churches, to restore inconostases, choirs, to clear all the church interiors of exhibits and props. After that, festive religious services may be held in the given church. I do not rule out the prospect of such a period of transition being most painful for the church as well. To quote Jesus Christ, "My house will be called a house of prayer." But the church and the believers should realize that this will be a temporary situation.

May all the Russian church buildings be gradually taken over by the Church. It is only in this case that they will come back to life and become our national pride instead of being our national disgrace.

Valery Baidin

The hot summer of 1991

Tatiana Ivanova

Will this country ever have a government which will finally solve the problem of supply and demand?

Three cartons of milk weigh three kilos. Add to this a kilo of cottage cheese, a pack of granulated sugar, butter, a head of cabbage, cucumbers, a pack of detergent... "My, what a bagful you're carrying," a colleague commented. Elegantly clad and shod, neatly combed, ironic, loose-limbed, he whiles away his days in his cool office, and all the air he breathes comes from an electric fan. Myself, I prefer to take it easy in a country cottage. We've got birds, flowers, and lots of fragrant ozone there. "You call this a bagful?" I ask him. "This bag is only half full. I still have to buy some beef, some fish for my tomcat, and some delicacies my folks are expecting me to bring from town... And besides, I shall take along a heap of newspapers and magazine to read over the weekend." If he only knew how much running-about I am in for, how many lines I'll stand in, how many jam-packed buses I'll have to push my oversize bag into before I get that beef, that fish, and those "delicacies." Finally, when my bag weighs no less than twelve kilos, I'll make a beeline for the railway station hoping the suburban train will leave on schedule, and then wait for my village bus in a large crowd of commuters, wondering whether I'll manage to squeeze in. If not, the next one will run in an hour's time, and the crowd will be larger still. Won't my milk turn sour in that African heat before I reach the cottage? What if someone steps on my bag?

On the train, I'll sit next to women like me, with bags as large as mine. Having recovered their breath after struggling with crowds in shops and buses, they, like myself, will pull papers – *Nezavisimaya, Rossiya, Kuranty, Democraticheskaya Rossiya* – out of their bags, and the carriage will turn into a reading room. Just like me, they will spot one or two passengers engrossed in *Sovietskaya Rossiya, Rabochaya tribuna or Pravda.* I like to intercept the glances a *Nezavisimaya* reader steals at a *Pravda* reader. Before June 12, the day of the presidential elections in Russia those were wary glances, now they are compassionate, sometimes slightly ironic – or so it seems to me. The *Pravda* readers are stern-faced and concentrated. They never look around them. Their eyebrows are knitted. Most of them are middle-aged men in white peaked caps. I specially look for a *Pravda* reader wearing blue jeans, but have never spotted one. The *Pravda* men wear roomy pants, brownish-grey, as a rule. Words fail me for describing their shapeless shirts. Some sport "nets" – a kind of "see-through" T-shirt, which is most revealing. If I weren't so shy, I'd inspect both kinds of shirts most thoroughly because they are relics of thirty if not forty years ago.

I hasten to unfold my paper because if I do not read on a suburban train, my spirits promptly sag for the rest of the day. I feel sorry for all those people, dreadfully sorry. I look at the old man seated opposite me, his face buried in a *Pravda,* and imagine him dressed in a pretty light summer outfit, minus his pre-historic white peaked cap, with his face smooth and cheerful rather than creased and gloomy... Who is he? A soldier who has suffered through the horrible war? Someone's affectionate grand-dad? An engineer? He would have been a personable man, self-confident, free, a courteous travelling companion, just a handsome old fellow, had it not been for... Oh, enough of those subjunctive moods. There is no returning to or improving the past, and the old man will never have another chance. The trouble is that he may bequeath his cap and his shirt to his grandson, and that he is sure those pants are good for another thirty years of wear...

Before June 12, the "white caps" often provoked noisy arguments trying convince the other passengers that they, the caps, were in the majority, the salt of the earth, while the democrats were just a handful of extremists seducing our righteous people. But as early as the morning of the 13th, it became clear that the opposite is true, that the sympathies of most people lie with the democrats, that ours is a democratic nation. Since then the "caps" have been keeping very quiet. The disputes on suburban trains have stopped, and if they occur, they are free of malice and quite good-natured. I always delight in them and become even more convinced of what I have never doubted: democratic views, and democracy as such, are incompatible with aggressiveness. Aggressiveness is displayed only by citizens advocating totalitarianism and dictatorship.

If the young woman who has put down her heavy bag next to mine were more graceful and better dressed, she would be a real beauty. Our eyes met, and she probably read in mine what you've just read here. She smiled and said: "I call myself a lady horse. That's what I am, a lady horse."

We started discussing the first steps taken by our Moscow democratic city fathers. Free use of public transport for pensioners... At last, something has been done for the people, something real. Good man, Popov.

That had been done **after,** not **before** the elections, which made all the difference. That was a magnanimous, humane and just act, after all the state has always made life miserable for older people. Now, we agreed, children should also be exempt from paying public transport fares. Then we shall have the impression that a bus or metro is still five copecks, and that we pay the other two five-copeck coins for the mother and for the son... But what have they done to the markets? Why do they shoo the old women selling fennel and onions away from the streets again? Who has ordered vendours away from the squares in front of metro stations?

Our is an inhuman city. Popov and Luzhkov say that law and order come first, and take precedence over trade. But the communists have always told us the same... We can't wait any longer, everything is a problem... I spent two hours looking for cucumbers... And I haven't found berries anywhere... I do not want to waste an hour queueing for half-rotten onions in a vegetable store, I want to buy fresh onions right in front of a metro station and without waiting...

The passengers sitting nearby joined in our sad conversation. Luzhkov is strict, they said, but he is Luzhkov. That may be so, others said, but there is no trade in the city at all now...

The sun is beating down mercilessly. I just can't wait for this hot summer to end and for the usual city routine to begin.

Will this country ever have a government which will make ours a buyers' market at last? Whomever we elect, even the cleverest ones of all, seem incapable of accomplishing that.

No, it's time we stopped talking, arguing, pondering, feeling outraged, wondering and feeling sorry for all – it is too hot.

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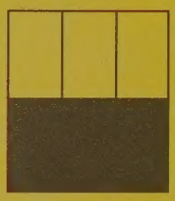

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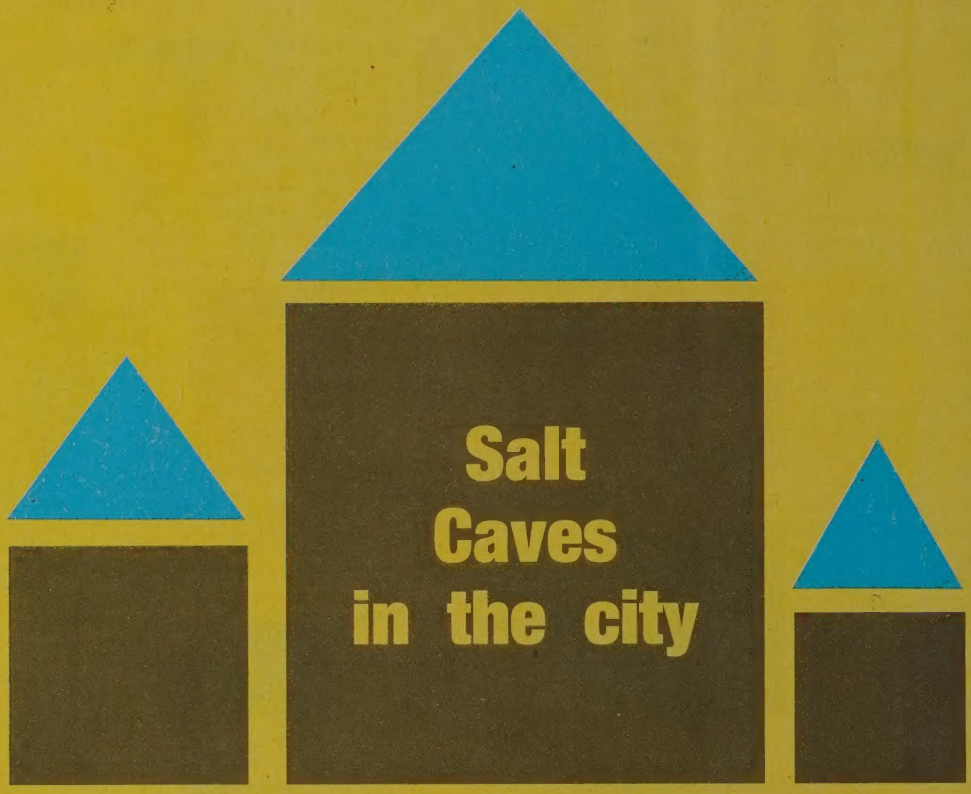

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